

In large cities, baths maintained the traditional features that served social life in the Roman style for longer. While the large pool was reduced in size and replaced by individual bathtubs, ornamental pools were added, as were halls for social meetings that replaced the function of the Roman communal frigidarium. The baths at Kôm el-Dikka in Alexandria were a large complex connected with the Odeum-theatre. When in the early sixth century the theatre was modified and the entrance to the baths was closed, a group of auditoria were constructed along the south and north portico of the baths. They were probably used for recitation, delivery of speeches, as halls for social meetings and relaxation. The dry rooms of the Southwest Bath in the Athenian agora with benches placed against all the walls were probably used to accommodate the audience for lectures by teachers.¹⁸⁶⁴ Texts in the sixth century still associate bathing with public gatherings and testify to the preservation of an antique lifestyle at the baths by the members of the upper class. In Antioch, the daily schedule of a typical male member of the upper class included taking a bath at the third hour, lunch at the fourth hour, meeting friends after they had attended spectacles and then taking care of his own affairs.¹⁸⁶⁵ A pagan *scholastikos* is presented in the *Life* of St. Symeon Stylites in an ancient social environment: after bathing, he sits with two *illustrii* in one of Antioch's public places, the so-called Diphoton, by the Winter Public Baths.¹⁸⁶⁶ As was the case in the Roman empire, baths continued to be a place for lavish display of wealth and social status.¹⁸⁶⁷ Rich Antiochean women used to go to the baths taking with them silver water jars and vessels and were transported in public seated on thrones adorned with silver.¹⁸⁶⁸ The moderation in bathing expected of sixth-century bathers was rarely in evidence on the part of the upper class: Theodora's licentious habit of spending many hours at the bath was criticized by Procopius.¹⁸⁶⁹ Others, however, enjoyed bathing in a different context. In Antioch, a pious and wealthy jeweller used to visit the baths of the monks four times a week, and his wife those of the women.¹⁸⁷⁰ Bathing could be enjoyed at any time, even in the late evening.¹⁸⁷¹ During the reign of Phocas, in Constantinople, members of the upper class used in particular to visit the baths after communion. St. Theodore of Sykeon condemned this practice, which, in his view, was caused by wantonness and which had no other end than bodily enjoyment (*διὰ σποδῆος καὶ σωματικῆν ἀπόλαυσιν*).¹⁸⁷²

Since the Church had accepted baths and moderate bathing on grounds of hygiene, throughout the empire baths were built near ecclesiastical complexes, often near the bishop's palace.¹⁸⁷³ These are much smaller than the earlier Roman public baths. A typical example is the small fifth-century bath by the Acheiropoietos in Thessalonica.¹⁸⁷⁴ The bathhouse adjacent to the Octagon in Philippi, however, was a large complex.¹⁸⁷⁵ In Thebes (Nea Anchialos) five baths are known and their proximity to Chris-

¹⁸⁶⁴ On the bath of Kôm el-Dikka see *supra*, p. 319. See also Yegül, *Baths*, 329; T. L. Shear, Jr., *The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1968*, *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 394-415; Fritzsche, *The Athenian Agora*, 32-33.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Severus, *Hom.* 105, PO 25 (1943), 655.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae *lun.*, c. 224 (p. 195.24-26).

¹⁸⁶⁷ N. Zajac, *The *thermae*: a policy of public health or personal legitimation?*, *Roman Baths and Bathing*, 99-105, esp. 103-105. See also Ammianus Marcellinus XXVIII.4.9.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Severus, *Hom.* 100, PO 22 (1930), 247. On archaeological finds of silver vessels used for bathing see M. Mundell Mango, *Artemis*, 263-262. In a more modest context, archaeological excavations reveal objects used at the baths at the time of Justinian, such as clay bowls for the hot and cold water, glass unguentaria, candlesticks, oil lamps. *BCH* 117 (1993), 753.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Procopius, *Historia arcana* XV.7.1.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Daniel of Scythopolis, 371.7-9.

¹⁸⁷¹ Menodius, 306.1D.

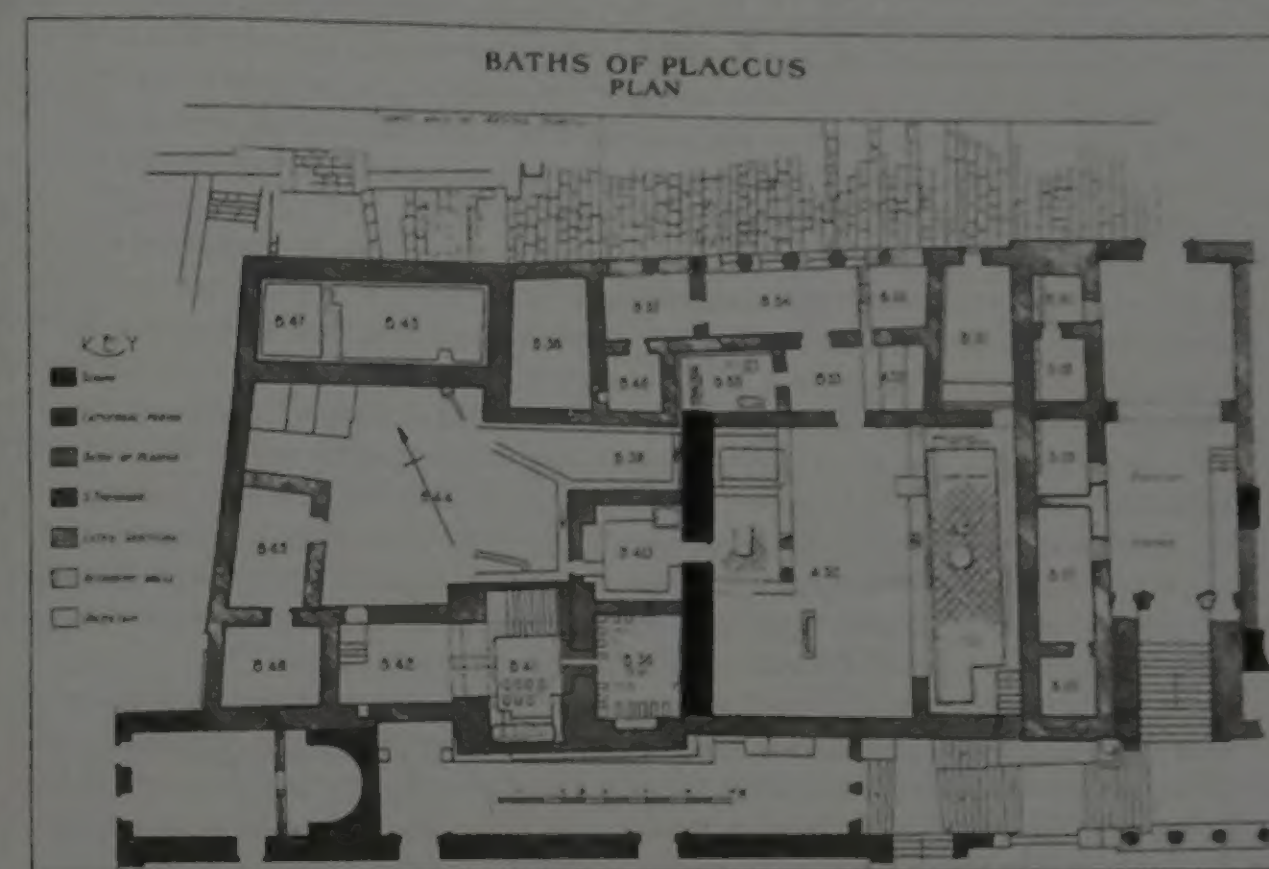
¹⁸⁷² Vita S. Theodori Sykeon, c. 137 (p. 109).

¹⁸⁷³ D. I. Pallas, *Epitaphien, Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* II, 335-371. For the ecclesiastical baths in Italy see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 135-141.

¹⁸⁷⁴ *AD* 49 (1994), Chr. B2, 513.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Goussard, *Valence*.

ian basilicas suggests that they were ecclesiastical: two are located near Basilica A, two near Basilica C, and one outside the walls about 100 m from the Basilica of Martyrios.¹⁸⁷⁶ One of the best-known ecclesiastical baths is that of Placcus in the central ecclesiastical complex at Gerasa (Plans VI, 35) near



PLAN 35. The Baths of Placcus at Gerasa.

the temple of Artemis. An inscription indicates that bishop Placcus built the baths in 454/5.¹⁸⁷⁷ They were modest and made with ample use of spolia. Another inscription records their renovation in the last quarter of the sixth century in terms that stress the pride of a civic benefactor in a manner resembling the habits of earlier centuries (*φιλόνομος*).¹⁸⁷⁸ Construction or renovation of bathing establishments sponsored by bishops was usually part of their philanthropic program. Such baths served foreigners, the poor and sick, and otherwise needy. Bishop Theodore renovated baths for the lepers at Scythopolis.¹⁸⁷⁹ Bishops also appear as builders of baths for the entire urban community. Bishop Marcian of Gaza, in his capacity of a civic benefactor, opened a bath in the city.¹⁸⁸⁰ Baths in monastic institutions became necessary both for reasons of hygiene and relaxation and because they offered relief (*μετουσθεῖα*) to the soul.¹⁸⁸¹ Baths were built in the monastery of St. Theodore at Chora, rebuilt from the

¹⁸⁷⁶ Karagiorgou, Demetrias and Thebes, 193.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Fisher, *Buildings*, 265-269; Welles, *Inscriptions*, no. 296 (p. 475).

¹⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 297 (s. 584, pp. 475-476).

¹⁸⁷⁹ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Bath of the Lepers at Scythopolis*, *IEJ* 13 (1963), 325-326.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Choricus, *Or.* VII.52 (p. 128.2-4): τὸ τε κοιτῶν ἀνέσταν δὲ οἱ τοῖς ἐν νεύρωσι τοῖς καὶ καὶ ἀδελφὸς σπένδοντες ἀντιμετῶντες.

¹⁸⁸¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, PG 37, 220C; John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.15 (p. 18). See H. Hunger, *Zum Badenwesen in byzantinischen Klöstern*, in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Vienna 1980), 353-364.

foundations by Justinian.¹⁰⁸² Although archaeological evidence rarely reveals monastic baths of the early Byzantine period, we have the baths inside the walls of the monastery of Martyrius just 10 km east of Jerusalem, which were 1369 m and included a caldarium, a frigidarium and apodyterium.¹⁰⁸³ By the end of the sixth century, the Church had appropriated the institution of bathing, and inscriptions of the sixth century record the involvement of the Church in the construction and restoration of baths.¹⁰⁸⁴ In the late sixth century, small baths were attached to churches and monasteries in converted private houses. Also baths built by emperors and members of the upper class were attached to pious associations, *diakonoi*, of the capital.¹⁰⁸⁵ Incorporation of baths in ecclesiastical complexes and initiatives by ecclesiastics in building baths is also attested in the West.¹⁰⁸⁶

The decoration of many baths in the sixth century remained pagan. In an *ekphrasis* John of Gaza praises a mythological subject of the mural painting in the winter public baths at Gaza, or Antioch. Built during the reign of Justinian, the bath included a Christian cross and about 60 allegorical figures. The composition resembled the mosaic in Bath E at Antioch.¹⁰⁸⁷ In the restoration of Faustina's baths at Miletus by Hesychius, a renowned citizen, lawyer, and the author of the *Souda* and the city *Chronicles* in the early sixth century, ancient statues of muses and gods, including two Aphrodites, were kept, and have been found in the modern excavations.¹⁰⁸⁸ The references to desire, naked Naiads, Aphrodite and the Graces, Eros, and the Nymphs in several epigrams on baths of the Cycle of Agathias may allude to statues still to be seen in baths.¹⁰⁸⁹ In many sites, however, Christians removed ancient pagan statues on the grounds that they were offensive to Christian ethics. In the East Baths of Scythopolis, for example, the statues of the frigidarium were discarded at some time during the sixth century.¹⁰⁹⁰

When the traditional classical themes of bath decoration were abandoned, explicitly Christian subjects were chosen for frescoes and mosaics to decorate public baths. They expressed the Christianization of the bathing environment and bathing ideology. Orthodox Christians commemorated the death of a heretic in the baths of Helenianae in Constantinople, in an image representing the incident by the bathtub, where the heretic had died.¹⁰⁹¹ Maritus of Apamea, a chartulary, depicted Justin I in the public baths in a narrative composition showing the emperor entering Constantinople from his native village in Illyricum and the events that brought him to the throne.¹⁰⁹² The tepidarium of a small public bath in the north suburb of Caesarea Maritima dating probably to the end of the sixth or to the early seventh century, was decorated with two frescoes in red, depicting the Tree of Life and a jewelled cross (Plan 36).¹⁰⁹³ A cross was painted in a niche in the Western Baths of Scythopolis (Figure 43). In Salamis in Cyprus, the mosaics of the north

¹⁰⁸² Vita S. Theodori Chonensis, c. 22 (p. 10.3): βασιλευσιν καὶ ἀντιστασὶν τῶν νεώτερων.

¹⁰⁸³ Y. Magen, *The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adumim* (Jerusalem 1993), 45; V. Tzaferis, *Early Monks and Monasteries in the Holyland*, DCMJ 15 (1989-1990), 55-56.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Di Segni, *Epigraphic documentation*, 155-156.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Berger, *Das Bad*, 156; P. Magdalino, *Church, Bath and Diaconia in Medieval Constantinople*, in R. Morris (ed.), *Church and People in Byzantium. Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester, 1986* (Birmingham 1990), 155-188, esp. 183-184.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 135-146.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreibungen*, 135-213; G. Downey, *John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpai, in Antioch II*, 205-212; A. Cameron, *On the Date of John of Gaza*, CQ n.s. 43 (1993), 348-351.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Milet 19, 168-171.

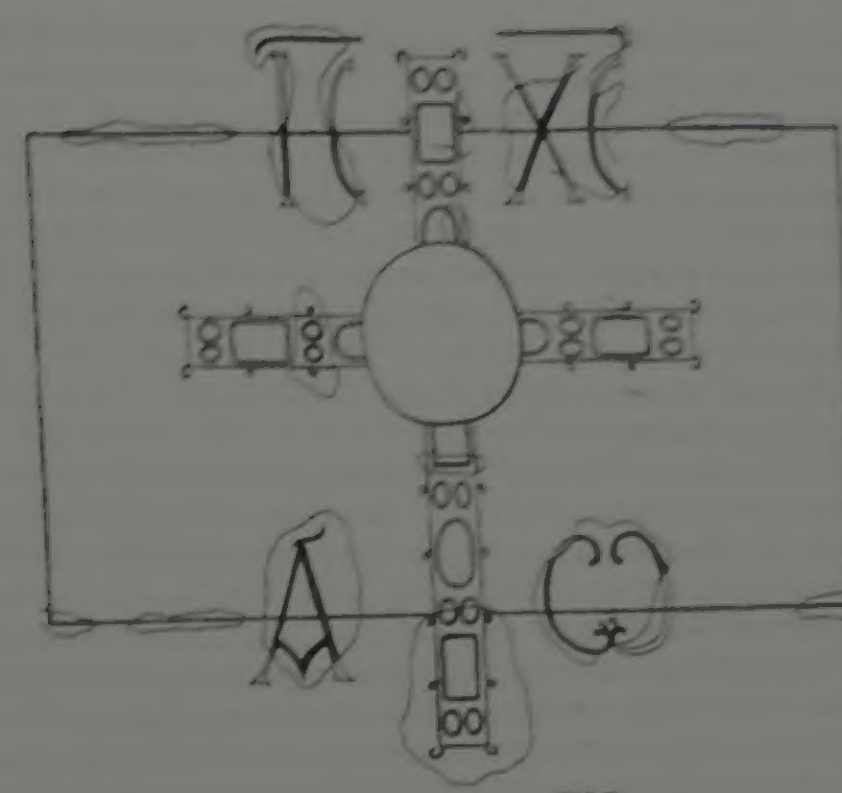
¹⁰⁸⁹ *Anthologia Graeca* IX nos. 619, 620, 621, 625, 626, 627, 633.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See *infra*, p. 372.

¹⁰⁹¹ Theodoret Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. G. Chr. Hansen, *Theodoret Anagnostes, Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin 1995), fr. 52a (pp. 131-132).

¹⁰⁹² Zachariah of Mytilene, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.1 (p. 18).

¹⁰⁹³ Heron, *Bath*, 179 and fig. 2.



PLAN 36. Fresco with the representation of a jewelled cross in the tepidarium of the bath at Caesarea Maritima.

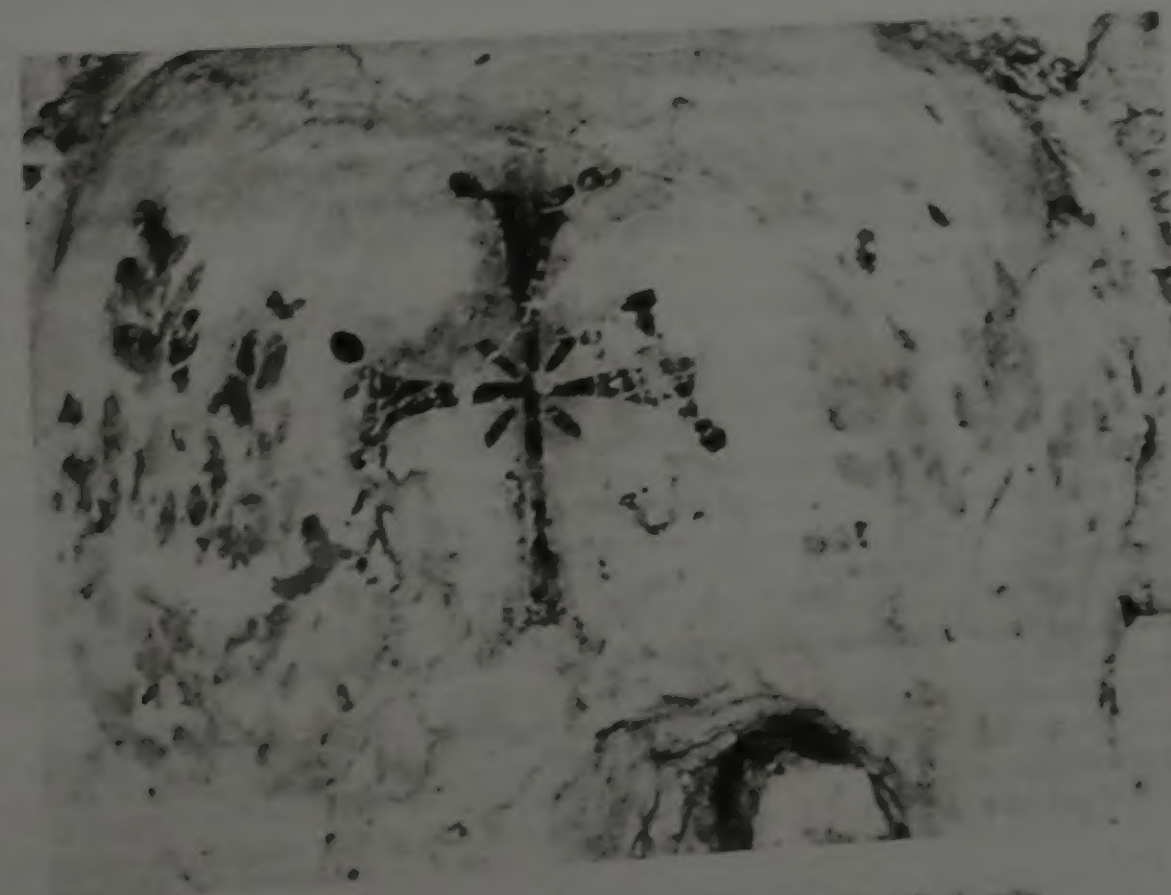


FIG. 43. A cross painted in a niche in the Western Baths of Scythopolis.

and south sudatorium were covered with a structure to conceal the pagan subjects of the composition. In the apses of the central sudatorium, a fresco with a mythological scene was covered with plaster and over it a Christian inscription was painted in red of which only the word *Kυρίου* survives.¹⁸⁹⁴ Bathing ideology conveyed by inscriptions was also Christianized, while retaining several ancient concepts. The name *Hygieia* also assumed a Christian meaning, when linked with Christ's miraculous cures.¹⁸⁹⁵ Fourth-century inscriptions of the baths at Kourion combine pagan vocabulary and Christian ideas: there is reference to Christ who protects the building and to the virtues of *aidos* and *sophrosyne*, although a reference to Phoebus in one inscription is striking.¹⁸⁹⁶ In sixth-century inscriptions, the ancient concept of ἀπόλυσις¹⁸⁹⁷ coexisted with Christian ideas.

Baths and bathing were also the theme of some literary compositions in the sixth century. We have already mentioned the *ekphrasis* of the painting in the winter public baths at Gaza or Antioch by John of Gaza. Several epigrams of the Cycle of Agathias praised baths, their ancient statuary, and bathing. The healing power of water is also mentioned.¹⁸⁹⁸ While in most of these epigrams the poets' inspiration derives from ancient mythology and ideals, contemporary trends are also to be discerned. Leontius Scholasticus praises the privacy enjoyed in a small bath built by the gate of the public bath in Constantinople: "A citizen built me at the gate of the public bath for excellence, not for competition (ἀρετῆς ῥίψευν, οὐκ ἰσοδοξίαν). Let that serve many; I supply water and scent and charm to an intimate few (καίνο μέλας πλάνοις οὖν ἐπὶ δ' ὀλίγοις τε φέλλας τε ἐντύνα προχοῆς καὶ μύρα καὶ χάριτας)".¹⁸⁹⁹ The preference of intellectuals for small baths is also found in Latin texts: Sidonius Apollinaris and his friends after a meeting at a private house chose a small public bath that suited their sense of personal modesty.¹⁹⁰⁰ The inscription in a sixth-century bath mosaic on Mount Ophel in Jerusalem reveals a shift from an open social life to the privacy of the family: that *komer* Eugenius, who restored the baths, may bathe in health and enjoy his buildings with his family.¹⁹⁰¹ Bathing is now presented as a family matter, rather than as a public activity. Such a shift from public to private life shows the early Byzantine period to be a prelude to the Middle Ages.¹⁹⁰² In some texts there is an emphasis on baths in the countryside. Byzantine sources praise baths on country estates for the idyllic scenery of the physical environment. St. Melania the Younger owned a bath in an estate (κρήνη) with sixty-two households (ἐποικία), and described by her in these words: "We had an extraordinary piece of property, and on it was a bath that surpassed any worldly splendour. On one side of it was the sea, and on the other, a forest with diverse vegetation in which wild boar, deer, gazelles, and other animals used to graze. From the pool, the bathers could see boats sailing on one side and the animals in the wood on the other".¹⁹⁰³ The ancient

¹⁸⁹⁴ B. Karageorghis, 'Αντιστοιχίαι Σαλαμίνος, 1964-1966, *RDAC* 1966, 13, 15.

¹⁸⁹⁵ *IGSy IV*, no. 1685 (Andriaca: El-Anderin in Syria): Τὸ τὸ δρομα τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὧς καὶ τὴν ἐν δολιχῶν, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπέστηκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἱεροῦ τῆς πόλεως. S. Mittemann, *Die Inschriften des spätantiken Bades in Umm Qais*, *ZDPV* 82 (1966), 71-73.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Matfied, *Inscriptions*, nos. 201-204 (pp. 352-359).

¹⁸⁹⁷ For example, L. Stager and D. Eise, Ashkelon 1985-1986, *IEJ* 37 (1987), 72.

¹⁸⁹⁸ *Anthologia Graeca* IX.631.

¹⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, IX.624 (transl. Paton).

¹⁹⁰⁰ *Carmen* XXXIII.495-499: *hinc ad balnea, post Neroniana / nec quae Agrippa dedit vel ibi, cuius / inaurum Dalmaticae videtur Salomon, / ad thermas tamen ire sed libet / privati bene praesentia pudori*.

¹⁹⁰¹ J. Crowfoot, *PEFQ* 1929, 16, pl. IV; M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, *QDAP* 2 (1932), 175 (no. 146); L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique* 1976, no. 751: *ἐν μὲ ἀντιστοιχίᾳ πηλιδὴ σοφιστῆς ἐν ἐντὶν ἱεροῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολαύσεις τῶν οὖν γενεῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, μὴ τῶν οὐρανοῦ*.

¹⁹⁰² H. G. Saradi, *Ἀπὸ τῆς καλλιγραφικῆς τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἀποστολῶν ἀποστολῆς, in* *Βυζαντινὸν ἀπὸ τῆς καλλιγραφικῆς τῆς ἀποστολῆς*, National Research Foundation (Athens 2003), 57-87.

¹⁹⁰³ *Vita S. Melaniae Jun.*, c. 18 (p. 162) (transl. E. A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, New York 1984).

theme of bodily pleasure arising from bathing is replaced by the bathers' enjoyment of the idyllic natural environment. Bathing ideology and experience were now marked by enjoyment in the privacy of small baths, in a family environment and in an idyllic natural setting.¹⁹⁰⁴

The ideological changes brought about by Christianity, as well as new cultural preferences emphasizing privacy that might have developed independently of the new religion, affected the architecture of bathing establishments from the fourth century on. The palaestra, which, together with the Greek agora, was the most important centre of social life, was removed. The frigidarium, the larger room and the centre of social activity, decreased in size, whilst a new, smaller hall was used for reception, relaxation and dressing. The large common pool for men and women was abandoned and subdivided into smaller bathing units.¹⁹⁰⁵ The reduction in the size of the pool might have also been dictated by the need to conserve water. The large pool in the baths of Galerius in Thessalonica, for example, was removed and replaced by an apsidal fountain and the apse of a small room was converted into a pool,¹⁹⁰⁶ the trend being generally to reduce the size of public baths. The difficulties faced by communities in covering the fuel expenses of large public baths might also have played a role in the reduction in the size of the baths.

Building and restoration of large public baths had been a traditional imperial policy. The symbolic connection of the institution of bathing with urban life is made explicit in the decision of Constantine to open the public baths of Zeuxippus on the 11th of May 330, the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople.¹⁹⁰⁷ In Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries, the restoration of most of the baths was ordered and funded by the emperors and their delegates. There, among the utility buildings, the baths occupy the first place. They account for 29.2% of utility buildings, as opposed to spectacle buildings (7.9%) and walls (7.9%).¹⁹⁰⁸ Malalas praises the emperor Anastasius for building public baths in all the cities of the empire among his other construction projects. He specifically mentions the two public baths in Daras, restored and promoted to the status of a city. Daras, a frontier city in Mesopotamia, was a military post and the baths were obviously meant to serve the garrison stationed there. Their importance for the city is suggested by the fact that they are mentioned first among the other public works undertaken there, namely churches, porticoes, storehouses and cisterns.¹⁹⁰⁹ Justin I is also praised for building baths at Antioch but in connection with the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian.¹⁹¹⁰ Restoration of baths was part of Justinianic building policy, but it was not a priority. The emperor restored or built new baths in new imperial foundations to endow them with the prestige of a city. He also built them in large cities, in cities with garrisons for the soldiers' enjoyment and hygiene, and in cities with hot springs, for therapeutic purposes. Not one bath, however, was built or restored by Justinian in Greece. In other areas to the north, baths are mentioned in Justiniana Prima, in the restored city of Ciberis in the Chersonese, and near Anchialus on the Euxine at the site of warm springs where the new baths were fortified with a wall to protect them from the raids of barbarians. The baths mentioned in the provinces of the East and North Africa satisfied specific needs of the troops or were built in settlements promoted to cities. On the Mesopotamian *limes*, baths were built in Ciresium and Zenobia, both military settlements. Procopius

¹⁹⁰⁴ On the social role of public baths in early Byzantium and ideological changes see also Mangi, *Daily Life*, 337-341; A. Luppe, *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Bades in der byzantinischen Ara*, *BdP* 6 (1979), 151-166; Berger, *Das Bad*, 21 ff.

¹⁹⁰⁵ R. Ginouvès, *Sur un aspect de l'évolution des bains en Grèce vers le IV^e siècle de notre ère*, *BCA* 79 (1955), 135-152; Yegül, *Baths*, 461; I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (Aarhus 1990), I, 152; Berger, *Das Bad*, 90-93.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Ph. Athanasou et al., *Τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀντιστοιχίᾶν τοῦ Ταύλου*, *AEMT* 13 (1999), 191-206; Yegül, *Baths*, 326.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Malalas, 246.6-9.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Jouffroy, *La construction*, 167-168, 319 ff., 331.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Malalas, 326-327, 335.62.

¹⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 351.52.

explicitly refers to the emperor's concern to offer the soldiers in Ciresium bathing amenities: "he restored to the troops there [in Ciresium] the enjoyment which they gained from the bath." He also restored the baths of Palmyra, where a *nummus* of soldiers was stationed. In Asia Minor three new baths were built: one at Pythia (modern Yalova) in Bithynia on the site of hot springs with therapeutic qualities, particularly popular among the inhabitants of Constantinople; another bath was built in Bithynia, Cappadocia, a fortress promoted to a metropolis, whilst a third was built in Nicæa in Bithynia which was in decline, and another restored. Two other baths were refurbished, one in Nicæa in Bithynia at the lodgings of the couriers of the Public Post, and a second one in Nicomedia. The baths of Antioch were also restored, while in Phoenicia a bath is mentioned at Curium. Baths in North Africa are mentioned at Taphosiris by Alexandria, in Bernice in Libya, in Leptis Magna, and in the Maritime Agora of Carthage, named after the empress Theodoriane.¹⁹¹¹

Maintenance of large bathing establishments was no longer possible for municipalities and the central government. Procopius expresses the reality of his time, when he states that the large bath called Antoninus in Nicomedia was not expected to be restored on account of its size (*ποῖα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξα, ὡς αὐτὴν καταστρέψαι, μέγα τοῦ ἔργου ἀποδοῦναι, ὅτι δὴ ἀποδομένης οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει*).¹⁹¹² In general, large Roman public bathhouses were not maintained, for they had become very expensive. The Commodium, a public bath in Antioch built by Commodus, became the praetorium of the governor of Syria.¹⁹¹³ Neglect on the part of the civic administration in maintaining public baths is illustrated in a decree of Honorius and Theodosius in 424, whereby the emperors took the initiative of regulating the fundraising for maintenance of the baths of Constantinople. The income of the houses and workshops erected in the porticoes of the baths of Zeuxippus was to be used for the construction of new windows, repairs of the roofs and maintenance of the capital's baths.¹⁹¹⁴

In the sixth century, the expense of the maintenance and heating of the baths was covered by civic, public or private funds.¹⁹¹⁵ The annual cost of heating the baths of Alexandria was 492 gold coins.¹⁹¹⁶ In the fifth and sixth centuries, governors were still maintaining baths in their provincial capitals. All the inscriptions of the West Baths of Scythopolis date to the fifth and sixth centuries and record restoration works sponsored by governors. One inscription explains that in 535 the *kornes* and consul Flavius Nysius Sergius built the baths' north portico "without touching public money".¹⁹¹⁷ This was a private donation by the governor. Indeed, in the large cities of the empire members of the upper class still showed some interest in maintaining public baths. This certainly anticipates the preservation of the institution in the Middle Ages. An inscription from Epiphania in the province of Syria Secunda, probably from a statue, commemorates the enlargement of the city's winter baths by the benefactor Elias, who had been honoured by the emperor. The text of the inscription is written in Homeric language and dates to the sixth century. Elias has paid with his own money for the project and, moved by pity for the city's poor who worked for the construction, he has also paid their salaries.¹⁹¹⁸ An inscription from Aphrodisias also records a substantial donation for the maintenance of baths in the late fifth or in the sixth century.¹⁹¹⁹

¹⁹¹¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.1.23, IV.10.21, III.7.20-23, II.6.11-12, 8.25; Malalas, 354.17 (Palmyra); Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.3.18, V.4.17, V.2.4, V.3.3, V.3.7, II.10.14 and 22, V.9.34, VI.1.13, 2.6, 4.11; 5.10.

¹⁹¹² Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.3.7.

¹⁹¹³ Malalas, 261.52-53.

¹⁹¹⁴ *CTH* XV.1.52 = *CI* VIII.11.19.

¹⁹¹⁵ *CI* I.4.26, X.30.4 (n. 530); Novella 160; *Edict* XIII.14-15.

¹⁹¹⁶ *Edict* XIII.15.

¹⁹¹⁷ *Mémoires*, *ES* 76 (1987.88), 144-17.

¹⁹¹⁸ *IG* 50. V. no. 1969. ... *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεως ἀποκαταστήσας τὰς ἀποκαταστήσας, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐλπίσας τὴν πόλιν, κτλ.*

¹⁹¹⁹ *Procopius*, *Aphrodisias*, no. 74 (p. 115).

In other cases, the restoration of baths was undertaken at the initiative of a distinguished citizen, but with funds provided by the emperor. The baths of Faustina in Miletus were renovated early in the sixth century at the initiative of Hesychius, and the work was commemorated in an epigram. We are told that no restoration work had been undertaken in the last one hundred years, and, to achieve this, Hesychius asked for an imperial donation. The epigram praises him for being an outstanding orator and for returning to his dear fatherland the favour of having raised him (*ἰδὼν ἡμετέρου αἵματος*). Hesychius set up a column with the emperor's statue and built a church. He also took the initiative in promoting construction to protect the city from siltting of the river Maeander. His contributions to Miletus are recorded on the base of a statue that the citizens erected in his honour.¹⁹²⁰ Imperial legislation on the other hand draws a different picture, that of maladministration and corruption on the part of state officers, and of neglect and greed on the part of the members of the upper class, which had consequences for the maintenance and function of the baths. We mentioned earlier such a scenario, described in the Novel 160 regarding the funding of Aphrodisias' baths and *Edict* XIII regarding the funding of the baths and other civic institutions of Alexandria.¹⁹²¹

Papiri attest the payment of contributions by individuals for the maintenance of public baths in the second part of the sixth century. *P. Oxy.* XXXVI.2780 (a. 553) contains a receipt for the salary of the water-supplier (*ὕδωρος*) of the public baths, addressed to Flavia Gabriela, who held the offices of *logistes*, *proedros* and *pater* of the city. *P. SB* VI.9368 (a. 577/8) records the contribution (l. 2: *ἑμὴν αἰσῶν*) of the wealthy landowner Anastasia to 514 pounds (180 kg) of lead for pipes and basins of a public bath (l. 7: *ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ οὐλοῦ καὶ τοῦ τοῦ οὐλοῦ*). The large amount of lead suggests that it was expenses (l. 3: *τὸν ἔργον αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐλοῖς*). The large amount of lead suggests that it was used for the construction of the baths rather than for repairs, and this may have been the north bath at Oxyrhynchus, mentioned in *P. Oxy.* XVI.2040. This papyrus dating to 596/7 contains a list of the contributors from the entire city (*καὶ τῶν τοῦ οὐλοῦ*) with the amount of their contribution in *nomismata* and carats to the fuel (*ὀρυκτῶν τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῦ*) of the new north public bath: 1. the *endotatos* Komneths (the Apion) (6 n. 19.75 c.: 25%), 2. the Church (3 n. 6.25 c.: 12%), 3. the house of *endotatos* Komneths (4 n. 8 c.: 16%), 4. the heirs of *endotatos* Ptolemaios (2 n. 19.25 c.: 10%), 5. the pagarchate (1 n. 10.5 c.: 5%), 6. the *endotatos* Iustus and brothers (2 n. 16 c.: 10%), 7. the pagarchate (1 n. 16.5 c.: 6%), 8. the heirs of Valerius, *kornes* (21.25 c.: 3%), 9. the *megalyropes* Euphemia (1 n. 16.5 c.: 6%), 10. the heirs of Theodoulos (1 n. 14.25 c.: 3%), 11. those from Eleme (1.75 c.: 0%).¹⁹²² It is significant that the Church, listed second after the glorious house of the Apion, had become a major contributor to the financing of the operation of public baths. Sources show a desire to keep the baths in operation by securing the funds for their fuel. Calculations indicate that the fees charged in Roman baths would have covered the cost of fuel and service.¹⁹²³ Although in reality additional funds were needed, it may also be that the number of bathers was in decline and costs could no longer be covered, perhaps because of the increasing preference for private baths.

Archaeological excavations give a picture of decline as regards most public baths in the empire. Their size was reduced by successive alterations and ultimately most of them were abandoned, whilst from the middle of the fifth century large baths were no longer built. In the majority of the sites, after a natural disaster caused partial or total destruction of the baths, restoration works were either limited to parts of them or were not undertaken at all by the communities. Then the baths were left to decay.

¹⁹²⁰ *Milet* I.9, no. 341-343 (pp. 168-170).

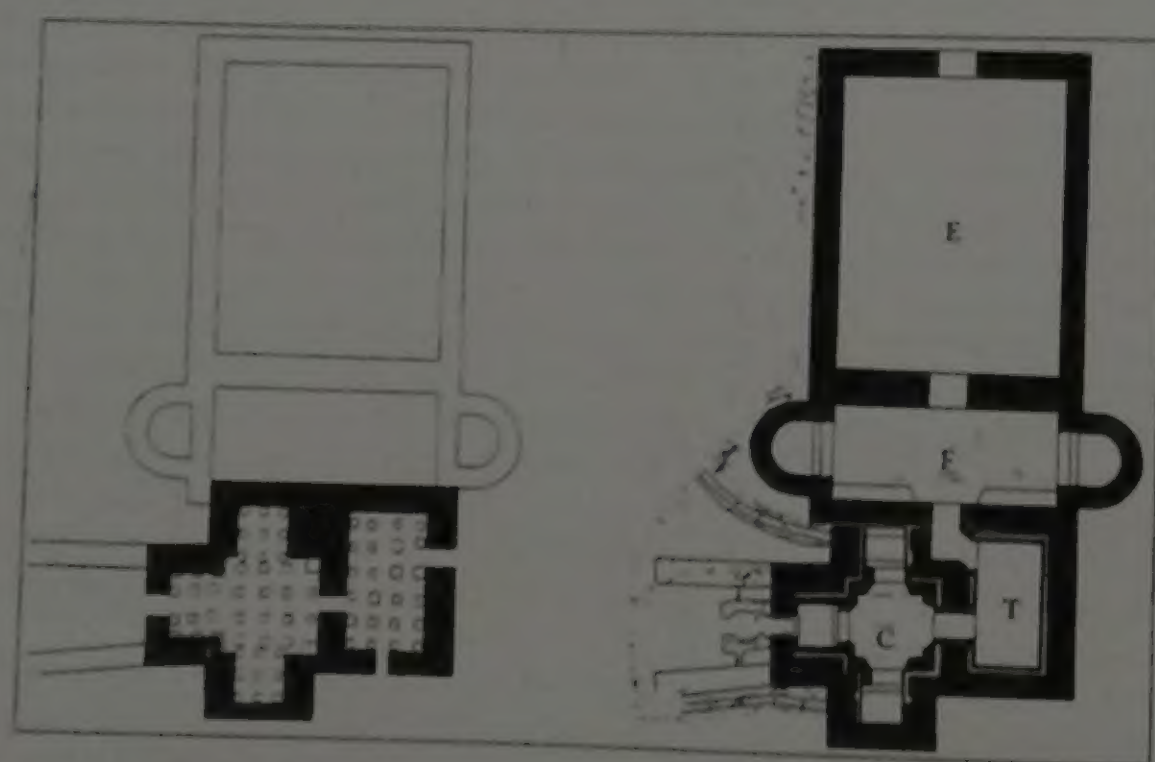
¹⁹²¹ See supra, pp. 158, 161.

¹⁹²² *Alston*, *The City*, 315.

¹⁹²³ P. H. R. Blyth, *The consumption and cost of fuel in hypocaust baths, Roman Baths and Bathing*, 87-88.

usually to be occupied by private structures. Twelve baths are known from the city of Corinth and its suburbs, of which five remain unpublished. The baths of Corinth illustrate the trends of the time. The Gymnasium Bath and the Baths of Eurykles fell out of use at the end of the fourth century.¹⁹²⁴ The Great Bath on the Lechaion road, a large monumental bath, was gradually abandoned in the early Byzantine period. In the fifth and sixth century debris accumulated over its court. In the late fifth to the early sixth century a lime pit was dug in the entrance impeding access to the bath from Lechaion Road. Several alterations were introduced and the pool in room 1 was closed. In its courtyard a fairly luxurious dwelling was built at the end of the fifth or early in the sixth century.¹⁹²⁵

The small bath in the South Stoa of the forum was abandoned in the second half of the sixth century after the earthquake of 551.¹⁹²⁶ The preference for small baths is manifested here in a small rather luxurious sixth-century bath built on the southeast side of the city's forum (Plan 37). It dates probably to the second quarter or to the middle of the sixth century and its architecture and materials are characteristic of the age. The walls of the entrance hall were covered with coloured marble and the pavement made of marble slabs. The frigidarium had two small tubs, of interior diameter 1.4 m, with apsidal walls and semi domes. The walls were covered with blue schist marble, whilst the tepidarium was barrel-vaulted and the walls covered with marble slabs. The caldarium was cruciform, with three small rooms and a central main room. The north and south rooms had small tubs, decorated with schist blue marble revetment and covered with barrel vault.¹⁹²⁷ An early Byzantine bath in Thessalonica has a similar architectural arrangement. It was built in the fifth century and at the end of the early Byzantine period was levelled and a new bath, of which only the caldarium survives, was constructed on the site. This



PLAN 37. Plan of the sixth-century Pansyia bath at Corinth at hypocaust level and at floor level.

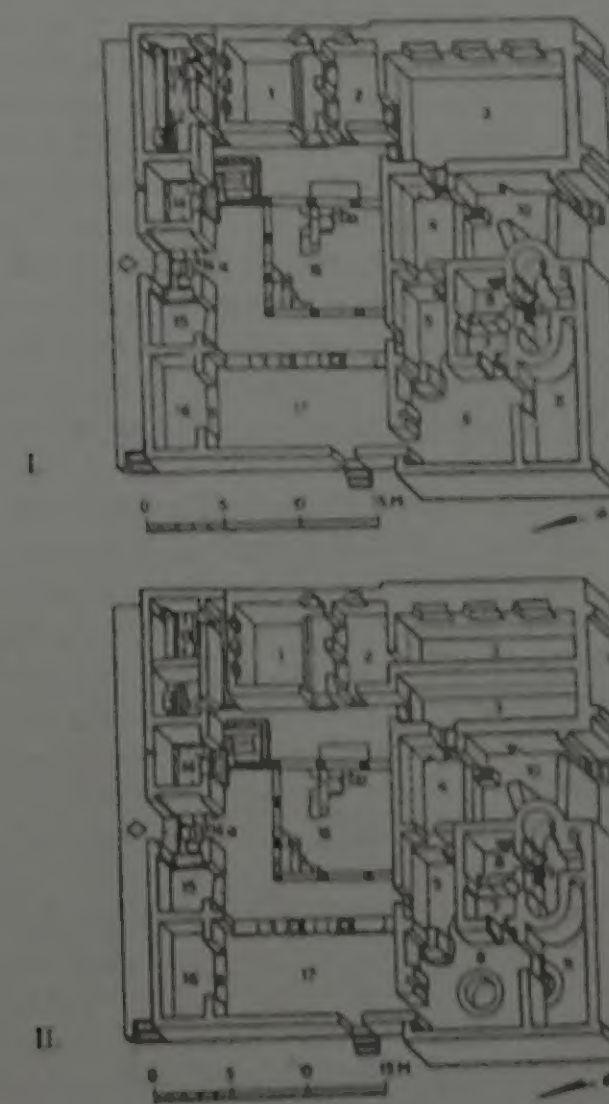
¹⁹²⁴ C. K. Williams, II, *Excavations at Corinth, 1968*, *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 62-63.

¹⁹²⁵ *Corinth XVII*, *Corinth XVI*, 16-21.

¹⁹²⁶ *Corinth XIV*, 145-151, 153-154; *Corinth XVI*, 8.

¹⁹²⁷ G. D. R. Sanders, A Late Roman Bath at Corinth. *Excavations in the Pansyia Field, 1995-1996*, *Hesperia* 68 (1999), 447-480.

had four semicircular apses facing each other. The two to the east have tubs covered with grey marble slabs. The walls of this phase are preserved up to 3.80 m.¹⁹²⁸ In the agora of Athens, several small baths, modest in design and material, were built. They were located on the southwestern side of the agora, one, the most luxurious, being located in the Palace of the Giants. The largest of all, the Southwest Bath, had rooms for lectures (Plan XV).¹⁹²⁹ At Philippi, the baths of the Octagon to the north of the Egnatia were 28.30x28.30 m large and included many and various rooms (Plan 38). Changes occurred in the baths in the middle of the sixth century. Some rooms were divided in two (the tepidarium and the latrine), and it was divided into two wings, one for women and the other for men. In the first half of the seventh century the wing for women ceased to function.¹⁹³⁰



PLAN 38. Plan of the baths of the Octagon at Philippi. I. Early phase. II. Later phase. The entrance is to the north from the *decurianus maximus*. 1 & 2. Frigidarium. 3 & 4. Tepidarium. 5, 6, 7. Caldarium. 11. Open air space. 12 & 13. Latrines. 14. *Natatio frigida*. 15. Porter's room where the visitors paid the entrance fees. 16. Apodyterium. 17. Frigidarium. 18. Open courtyard surrounded by porticoes.

¹⁹²⁸ I. O. Kaperidis, *AD 49* (1994), Chr. B2, 493.

¹⁹²⁹ *Erasmia, The Athenian Agora*, 30-33, 107-108.

¹⁹³⁰ *Gomati, Valentin*, 52-54.

Antioch was given numerous baths in the course of its history by Roman emperors: the baths of Agrippa, Tiberius, Varrus in the reign of Caligula, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus (two baths), and Diocletian (five baths), Valens and Hellebarus. From archaeological excavations six baths are known. Bath F, located inside the Justinianic wall to the north, was restored in 538 after destruction by an earthquake, on smaller scale, some parts being left ruined. After a new destruction by fire in 540, it was abandoned.¹⁹³ Bath C was also abandoned after its destruction by earthquakes. The smaller Bath A was also destroyed and only its peristyle court was restored in the late sixth century.¹⁹²

In the civic centre of Sythopolis there were two baths, to the east and west of Palladius Street. The East Baths underwent changes and fell out of use, having been converted to other functions in the early sixth century. The pagan statues of the frigidarium, considered offensive to the Christians, were removed: some were thrown in a pit, others were found scattered. In contrast, the West Baths of the city (Plan 39), built early in the fifth century, were remodelled and expanded to become one of the largest baths known in Palestine (95x60 m). The water system of the baths was also used for the adjacent public latrines. In the middle of the sixth century alterations were introduced and are characteristic of the trends of the time. In the west portico an apsidal basilica (9x4.5 m) was built. The apse was covered with a colourful glass mosaic and the hall with a mosaic. But the mosaic floor of the courtyard with a fine geometric design was covered with a pavement of marble flagstones. Later a wall blocked the entrances to the earlier *exedrae* opening to the west side of the basilica. In the middle of the complex, the pool west of the pillared hall was filled in and converted into a peristyle. In the last stage of the baths, four rectangular pools were built at the two east ends of the porticoes. The baths functioned until the end of the sixth to the early seventh century.¹⁹³

Various late alterations to the baths of Bishop Placcus in Gerasa are marked by a similar process (see *supra*, p. 329, Plan 35). The entrance to the bath, originally an open portico (B 34), was closed at the two ends, thus forming two rooms (B 37 and B 32). The original pool was subdivided in two units (B 47 and B 43). A latrine was installed in a room next to the entrance (B 35), while in the earlier phase the latrine was located away from the entrance at the extreme end of the complex (B 48). Before the end of the sixth century, six of the eight columns of the atrium of the baths (A 52) were removed and used in the staircase of the cathedral.¹⁹⁴ The alterations are marked by a reduction in size of the larger rooms, and by a closing up and reduction in the size of earlier open spaces. There is also a noticeable lack of concern to maintain earlier standards of refined life, as can be observed in the establishment of the latrine by the entrance.

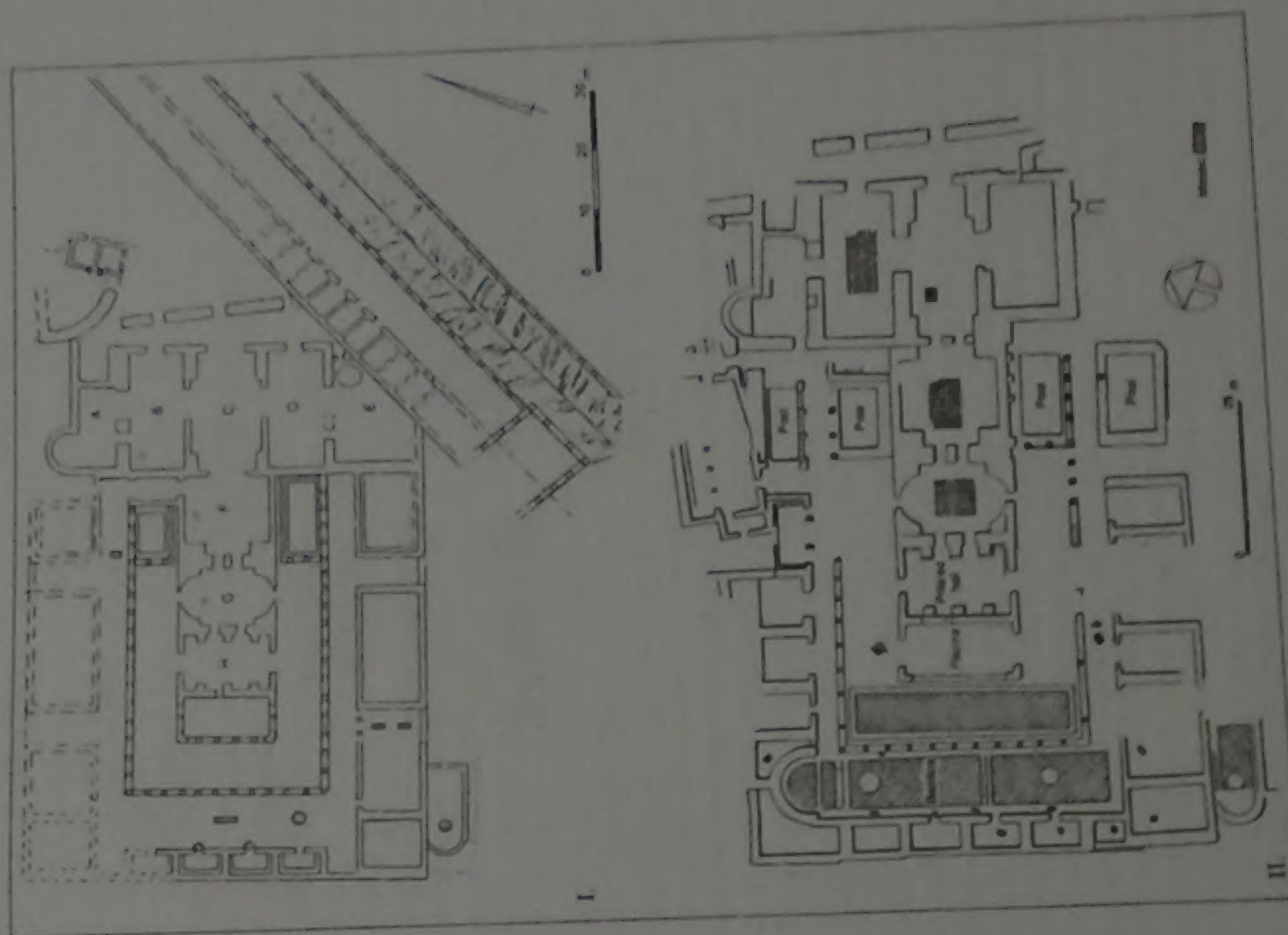
In Caesarea the magnificent and large bathhouse, built in the fourth century, fell out of use before the end of the early Byzantine period and was robbed of its materials. Another bath, however, was built at the end of the sixth century or in the early seventh century in the city's affluent northeast suburbs outside the walls (Plan 40). Some of its features, like the large rooms, especially the frigidarium, the courtyard leading to the baths' entrance in front of the frigidarium, and the large outdoor pool next to the tepidarium suggest that its function was public. Its size was approximately 525 m². It had all the traditional features of Roman baths: a praefurnium, apodyterium, a small caldarium for only two bathers, tepidarium, unctorium and a frigidarium with a large round pool and a bench. The tepidarium was dec-

¹⁹² *Antioch III*, 8-9.

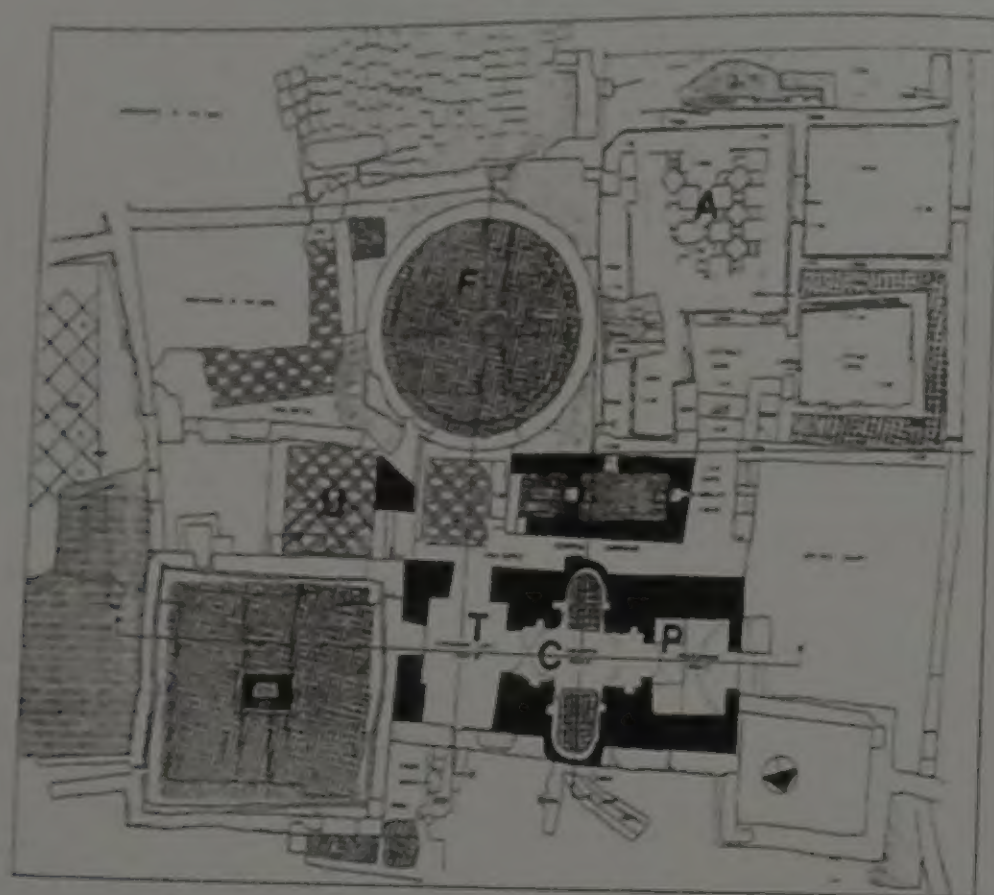
¹⁹³ *Antioch I*, 4.7 (Bath A), 19-31 (Bath C).

¹⁹⁴ *Mosque, E.S. 6* (1987:80), 10-18, item, *E.S. 7*, 8 (1988:89), 22-26; Bar-Nathan and Mazor, *E.S. 7*, 11 (1992), 38-42; G. Maor, *Public baths in Roman and Byzantine Nysa-Sythopolis (Bert Shefa)*, in *Roman Baths*, 293-302.

see Fisher, *Buildings*, 265-269.



PLAN 39 The West Baths at Sythopolis. I The early phase. II Plan of the baths with changes that took place in the sixth century



PLAN 40. Bath in the northeast suburb of Caesarea Maritima (late sixth to early seventh century). A. Apodyterium. C. Caldarium. P. Praefurnium. T. Tepidarium. U. Unctorium. F. Frigidarium.

orated with two frescoes with Christian repertoire in red depicting a Tree of Life and a jewelled cross (see supra, p. 331, Plan 36). It is unusual to find in a late sixth century bath such a large, round pool as that of the frigidarium, surrounded by benches and four rooms, a legacy of Roman baths. This might reflect the attachment of the district's wealthy residents, who had probably sponsored the project, to ancient traditions. Also characteristic is the large pool (53 m²) at the northeastern corner of the complex, which was either ornamental or was used to collect rainwater, or both. There was also a latrine at the western edge of the complex, at a comfortable distance from the main halls of the bath. By the frigidarium at the southeast corner was a small pool perhaps for footbaths.¹⁵⁷¹ The bath was carefully built, relatively large for the period, with some of the traditional architectural features of Roman baths. Members of the upper class in this prosperous provincial capital could maintain the ancient bathing tradition for longer.

One of the best-preserved baths in Asia Minor is the Roman bath east of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos. After suffering damage from the earthquake of 518, it was restored, continuing to function on a smaller scale, until it finally collapsed in an earthquake in the middle of the seventh century.¹⁵⁷² The baths at Pella continued to be used, although some of the rooms were converted to serve other

¹⁵⁷¹ Horton, *Bath*, 177-189.
¹⁵⁷² *Sagalassos* VI, 336-362.

functions and the late alterations are marked by the poor quality of material and work.¹⁵⁷³ The baths of Kôm el-Dikka in Alexandria fell out of use before the Arab invasion.¹⁵⁷⁴

Towards the end of the sixth century and during the seventh century, on the sites of most of the abandoned baths the earlier large rooms and peristyles were subdivided to accommodate workshops or dwellings of the poor. At some sites, this last stage of the baths dates to the period of invasions, when peasants from the countryside fleeing the invaders settled in urban baths. At Justiniana Prima, the bath outside the urban fortifications was transformed into a small fortified settlement defended by a wall.¹⁵⁷⁵ Other baths were destroyed by the invaders. The destruction of the baths near the Octagon in Philippi has been linked with the invaders. In Argos, a luxurious private bath was destroyed by the Avaro-Slavs in the 580s and dwellings were established on the site. Numerous kitchen objects, lamps and glass found in the excavations reveal the nature of occupation.¹⁵⁷⁶

The reasons of the decline of the public baths were financial and cultural. The diminishing financial resources of the cities made it increasingly difficult to keep up with the cost of maintenance. The poor maintenance and gradual collapse of the Roman water supply system severely affected the operation of the baths, as it reduced the volume of water available. In some cases, the decline in maintenance of public baths is directly associated with the abandonment of aqueducts. For example, during the reign of Justinian, the aqueduct of Constantinople was broken and the authorities did not repair it, with the result that very little water reached the city and all the baths were closed.¹⁵⁷⁷ The poor maintenance of the aqueduct at Corinth brought about the decline of the city's baths.¹⁵⁷⁸ The huge Roman bathhouse in the centre of Gortyn was reduced in size in the early Byzantine period and at the time of Justinian it finally ceased to function, probably because of the destruction of the water system.¹⁵⁷⁹ In other baths, careless repairs display diminishing competence in engineering. In the suburban baths of Caesarea, built at the end of the sixth or in the early seventh century, poor drainage caused the earlier drains to silt up in the last stage of the baths' life. When some repairs were made, new drains were placed above the floor, instead of beneath it, damaging a small step-pool, which was not removed. The social environment in which the baths now functioned had dramatically deteriorated. Since repairs did not solve the problem of poor drainage, new pipes, like the old ones, silted up after some time.¹⁵⁸⁰ Furthermore, in periods of invasions, during the military operations, the destruction of aqueducts by the enemy affected the functioning of baths.¹⁵⁸¹

The archaeological record reveals a picture of gradual decline and abandonment of most public baths, which were usually given or were taken over for use as dwellings and workshops. Some examples illustrate the trend. The large Roman bath CG north of the acropolis of Sardis and east of the Byzantine wall was abandoned in the early seventh century when it was flooded.¹⁵⁸² The central baths in Bostra ceased to function from the end of the fourth century, after which refuse thrown from a neighbouring

¹⁵⁷³ *Pella of the Decapolis* 2, 18.

¹⁵⁷⁴ W. Kôkçin, *Alexandrie VI. Imperial Baths at Kôm el-Dikka* (Warsaw 1972), 43-56, esp. 51.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Kordic and Popović, *Caracas Grad*, 130-135, 317 ff.

¹⁵⁷⁶ P. Augert, *Objets de la vie quotidienne à Argos en 585 ap. J.-C.*, in *Études Archéologiques BCH, Suppl.* VI (Paris 1980), 305-417.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Procopius, *Historia avarica* XXV.123.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Loka, *Aqueduct*, 297-298.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Di Vita, *Gortyna* V, LXI-LXII, M. A. Rizzo, *Il settore E. Gli ambienti orientali delle terme*, *Gortyna* VI, 647-655.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Horton, *Bath*, 183-184, 187-188.

¹⁵⁸¹ Horton, *De bello Gothico* V.19.27.

¹⁵⁸² Procopius, *De bello Gothico* V.19.27.

¹⁵⁸³ J. C. Waldbaum and G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Roman Bath CG: Site, Plan, and Description*, and Kios, *The Roman Bath CG: Construction and Decoration*, in Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis*, 139, 185.

To conclude: bathing establishments gradually declined from the fourth century onwards. The large baths of the Roman type were transformed into smaller complexes and most of them were subsequently abandoned. There is a notable preference for smaller baths, more modest in design, materials

See, for example, J. C. Lagarias, *Proc. Am. Math. Soc.* **91** (1979), no. 1, 101-102 (1979).

Some of the most famous springs also disappeared in the middle of the sixth century, and many wells dried up in the early seventh century.¹⁰⁰ In Peking the late sixth or early in the seventh century a large earthquake was followed by a drought.¹⁰¹ In Peking the late sixth or early in the seventh century a large earthquake was followed by a drought.¹⁰² In Peking the late sixth or early in the seventh century a large earthquake was followed by a drought.¹⁰³

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10. The undersigned hereby certifies that the above information is true and correct to the best of his knowledge and belief, and that he is not aware of any other information that would materially affect the accuracy of the above information.

In many cities, the aqueducts were destroyed, and the population suffered from the lack of water supply. Thus when Belisarius led the operation of Nisibis during the Persian wars, he found the city in a dire straits for the besieged, because they had sufficient supply of water from the wells. In Rome, the Goths destroyed the fourteen aqueducts to deprive the inhabitants of drinking water, but they too relied on wells. The baths, however, were totally closed, whilst Belisarius constructed a huge cistern at his residence (Str. 17, 48 according to the *Pragmatic Sanction* 25, the Byzantines took care to repair the aqueducts in Rome, but springs, cisterns and wells dug to get water from Roman drains were more reliable sources of water.²⁷⁰ In Thessalonica, the cryptoporticus connecting the upper with the lower parts of the agora was transformed into a cistern in the first half of the sixth century, as well as the south portico of the lower part of the agora. These changes were probably introduced as a response to the invasions.

The diminishing resources of the cities, the neglect of the authorities and enemy invasions caused the decline of the cities' water supply system. During Procopius' time, ancient Roman aqueducts attracted visitors' admiration (*ὁρῶντο δὲ τοὺς αἰῶνες ὄντα*), a statement that indicates how long ago such buildings had been erected. Procopius did not conceal his admiration for Rome's fourteen aqueducts made of which a horseman could ride, while one of Belisarius' soldiers was curious to observe how Naples' aqueduct was constructed and how it brought water into the city.²⁰¹¹

Concluding thoughts:
cultural changes in their historical context

The image of the sixth-century Byzantine city is that of a public space shrinking before the pressure of private interests. Urban public space that in the past gave expression to the city ideology of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was dissolved and given to private owners. Wealthy persons who requested ownership of vacant civic lots and buildings initiated the process of the privatization of public land. Initially this was done under the auspices of the state and municipal authorities who extracted rent from such transactions for the benefit of the imperial treasury or in order to address state and civic needs. It was inevitable that powerful individuals should exercise their influence on the state administration to acquire public property cheaply, although the process was counter to the public interest. General population increase, movement of population from the countryside into the cities, sedentarization of nomads in new urban districts in some provinces and the prosperity of the artisan class all created demand for more commercial and residential space. Administrative changes and the demise of paganism created available lots and buildings and offered opportunities for their appropriation. Cultural shifts shaped attitudes in which the dissolution of the public space was possible.

Christianity dissociated itself from ancient civic space. It resisted any attempt to Christianize civic institutions: its aim was to replace those institutions so deeply embedded in paganism. Together with the institutions went the buildings that housed them. The Church created new centres in cities and new districts around parochial churches. While public civic space was allowed to decay, the *area around*

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Principius De Belli Goduaco* V.B.45, V 19 13, 28; VIII.12.21-27, *De Bello Flandisano* IV 1.2, H. B. and et al. 1.1.17

¹⁰⁶ J.C. app. II VII R. Coates-Stephens, *The Water-supply of Early Medieval Rome and Its Hinterland* (Cambridge, 1990).

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1. *Principes de la Rev. indienne* 1812 De Bellefleur, 1911 1911

However, the Roman remains of Britain were abundant throughout, particularly the roads, towns, villas and fortifications that were symbols of urban proximity and Roman imperial power. More subtle features, such as the numerous streets, streetscapes, houses and the density of the urban landscape, were the result of a form of urban order which expressed through architecture the power of the Roman state in the western World (MacDonald).

[illegible]

1. N. N. Bogol'ubov, *Math. USSR, Izvestiya*, **1**, No. 1, 1967. Number 1077. The Institute of Mathematics, Novosibirsk.

2. M. A. Krasnosel'skiĭ, *Uspehi matematicheskikh nauk*, **16**, No. 2, 1955. Number 1077. The Institute of Mathematics, Novosibirsk.

3. L. V. Ahlfors, *Complex Analysis*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1966. 150 pp. \$4.95.

4. I. M. Vinogradov, *Prilozheniya teorii chislennogo integrala* (Applications of the Theory of Numerical Integration), Fizmatgiz, Moscow, 1974. 150 pp.

5. A. A. Korovkin, *Uspehi matematicheskikh nauk*, **14**, No. 2, 1954. Number 1077. The Institute of Mathematics, Novosibirsk.

The cities gradually lost their ancient monumental appearance, their cities' primacy and their expensive monuments, most of which were in ruins or in ruins-to-be. The vaulting, mosaic and sculpture in the magnificent ancient buildings of the administration were left to decay, irreparable or convertible only by private persons and converted to the uses. The buildings for apiculture were the only ones that by the end of the early Byzantine period were abandoned, while most of the most famous poor ones, such as the monastery of the Virgin, were established only in the beginning of the Justinianic period and this was possible, because species had been incorporated into the imperial economy. Apartments for single-man use were replaced by coenobia, and wells. Only the agricultural buildings and Constantinian services into the Middle Ages, but their function was reinterpreted during the Byzantine Dark Ages. The decline of agriculture and the reduction in funds available to society severely affected the survival of the free public lands. Christian ideology also played an important role in the abandonment of public baths in favour of official, private ones and in the disavowal of the exterior life of the most famous bathing associations with Christian values. Bathing survived in the Middle Ages, for it had been accepted by the church and the church values.

These changes suggest decline. The decline in public space obviously does not imply a decline of the city itself, most of the urban space economically lost, not a reduction in population.¹⁰ Numerous rights could allow the dissolution of urban planning with its population increase and expansion of the urban inhabited area during the early Byzantine period.¹¹ While he regarded the neglect of the urban authorities in maintaining the ancient urban planning as a symptom of decline, he realised the difficulties involved in the urban planning, given the population increase in early Byzantine period. Other historians, however, point to a gradual material development in the early Byzantine period, the deterioration in the quality of the constructions and repairs, such as deterioration of the early Byzantine structures, is manifested easily, where "Engineering work applied to large-scale projects inherited from Rome gradually deteriorated. Roman ports, for example, deteriorated and were abandoned. After the first two centuries Byzantines joined the shipping of merchandise to coast to rest. Roman practices, in the absence of a fleet of patrolling galleys, large ships could not reach the coast; cargo was transported from the ship to the coast by means of small boats. While it would appear obvious that this was a consequence of the weakness of the state, it is more likely the Roman level of engineering, it has been suggested that ideological reasons caused this change. The

⁸⁰ Tachibana, T., 1966. The mechanism of Ca^{2+} -induced myofibrillar contraction. *Journal of General Physiology*, 49: 73-90.

early Byzantines preferred natural arrangements to the artificial monumentality of their Roman predecessors.³⁰² The decline of civic financial resources, of competitive private patronage and the weakened state were of course major factors. The exception to this pattern of decline was churches, where the resources of urban communities were directed collectively and at the level of private patronage. Cultural transformation and the crisis in the upper class were the other causes of the decline of the civilization of the *polis*, as we know it from the Roman period. The obvious signs of deterioration in material culture mark the end of the early Byzantine period as an introduction to the Middle Ages.

³⁰² N. A. Kouravos, 'Decline of the ports of Constantinople in the early Byzantine period', *Byzantine Studies*, 1987, 1, 1. V. Emperou, *Byzantine Ports* (1987), 104, discusses the decline of the ports of Constantinople. On the technology used see R. L. Hitchcock, 'Building Harbours in the Early Byzantine Era: The Persistence of Roman Technology', *Archaeology*, 1997, 50, 178. In Constantinople in the Dark Ages (see below) the *theodosia* was abandoned and silted and the overall capacity of the ports of the capital for commercial activities was reduced to about one fourth (Mango, *The Development*, 55-56).

PART V

BETWEEN THE CITY OF THE PAST
AND THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

Construction of churches on the sites of pagan temples arrested in literary sources as early as the fourth century. In Jerusalem, Constantine built the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the site of a temple of Aphrodite.²⁹⁷ Elsewhere, the *Deus solis* temple-pagan temples, bishops in the East set about demolishing pagan temples, and constructing Christian churches in their sites. A famous example is the Temple of Mars in Gaul. Here the temple whose destruction by Philip the Arab is described in his *Letter to the Senate* and in the *Historia Augusta*, was built by the emperor Valerian. The violent destruction of the temple and the construction of a church on its site are presented as a triumph of the Church and an example of pressure on the pagans to convert to Christianity.²⁹⁸ The logical interpretation of the frequent mention of temples in churches were proposed. It was a necessary step to purge the benefits. Theodoret of Cyrus explains that the materials of the pagan temples were sanctified by the erection of martyrs' churches. He admits, however, that Christians hesitated to dedicate to Christ stones that had belonged to the pagan gods.²⁹⁹ In Greece, Bishop Iovianos recorded in an inscription on the lintel of the door of the basilica of Palaeopoli in Corfu the destruction of a pagan temple and the construction of a basilica on the site. The mosaic of the basilica are dated to the fifth or probably the sixth century.³⁰⁰ In the reign of Justinian, probably in 538, the Hadruoneion of Caesarea Maritima was transformed into a church and the event commemorated in an inscription in the church.³⁰¹ In Gerasa, an inscription from the Church of St. Theodore, dated to the fifth-sixth century and placed on the lintel of the central west door of the atrium, commemorates the erection of the church on the site of a "refuse tip for dead animals". The text refers to the pollution of the site ($\delta\alpha\upsilon\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\iota\varsigma$... $\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\kappa\epsilon$, $\lambda\upsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa\iota$), which was dissolved by

⁷⁸ A. Martin, Discours de Jacques de Sarag sur la chute des idoles, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Moravianischen Gesellschaft*, 1906, 107-10; Loebius Horn, 119-20; Loebius, *Lebensgang*; Horn 120-21; Romanus Melodus.

G. Jones, *Caesurae and the Christian hymn* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974). *The Latin Iqadum in Caesura Maritima*. I. Studies in the History of Caesura Maritima. Missoula, Montana: 1978, 37-48.

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence cannot always provide accurate dates, but in general the transformation of most of the temples into Christian churches appears to have occurred just around three hundred years ago. In fact, all over the Mediterranean world were turned into churches.

Practical factors of early baptizing a baptism may also have defined the erection of churches in the site of pagan temples, churches converted into temples and adorned central had houses. This aspect is also observed in the cities of the East that had strong tradition of urban planning and where the pride in the city's beauty was still alive.

¹⁵ Cf. Mon Jéseret, Inscriptions et objets chrétiens de Syrie et de Palestine. Anna 17, 1927, 1-2. The *Journal asiatique*, 1927, 1-2.

40142 Conversion of Pagan Temples into Churches in the East

D. Schünberger, *Études sur l'aimant*. I. Le développement urbain de l'aimant, Paris, 1977, 128 p., 120 fr.

1976) pp. 320-1. Fowhia, La fertilisation des sanctuaires patens par les chrétiens en Asie continentale (IV-VII s.).



FIG. 45 The so-called 'Panopticon' (Petra) in the Rhipsalis, Athens. It was built inside a temple of Asclepius in the early Byzantine period in the seventh century.

In the city of Athens, paganism and pagan temples survived longer. There the pagan tradition had deep roots in the city's history. Furthermore, the intellectuals of the Academy helped maintain the pagan religion. The first Christian church in the ancient city centre was probably established in the Forum of Hadrian in the first half of the fifth century (Figure 46).²⁸⁶ Forms of the cult of Asclepius survived until the violent destruction of the Asclepeion by Christians around 485. The first Christian basilica on the site isolated from the last years of the fifth century. The cult of the healing god continued in the Christian church, however, dedicated to St. Andrew, a healing saint, while the incubation stone, the sacred spring and the *laureum* were maintained.²⁸⁷ The Parthenon may already have been transformed into a church as early as the second half of the fifth century, while the Erechtheion and the Hephaestion appear to have been converted into churches later, from the end of the sixth century.²⁸⁸ The transformation of the southeast part of House C on the Areopagus into a baptistry is dated to the

²⁸⁶ A. Kallias, 'The Foundation of the Temple of Hadrian on the Tetrasion in Athens in Context: Post-Hellenic Roman Athens', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 121 (2001), 1–15.

²⁸⁷ G. G. Cameron, 'The Conversion of the Temple of Asclepius in Athens: A Case Study of the Christianization of Paganism', *ACAC*, 12 (1991), 11–15.

²⁸⁸ J. G. G. Cameron, 'The Conversion of the Temple of Asclepius in Athens: A Case Study of the Christianization of Paganism', *ACAC*, 12 (1991), 11–15.



FIG. 46 The Tetrasion in Athens. In the fifth century, part of the Forum of Hadrian was transformed into a church with four conches opening onto a central square space. It was lavishly decorated with mosaic pavements and marble revetments.

first half of the sixth century, probably as a result of Justinian's measures against pagan higher education. The nymphaeum of the house was transformed into a pool; the mosaic floor was removed and replaced with a mosaic depicting a red cross. The state of some pieces of statues indicate that they had been violently destroyed by Christians, while a bust of Athena was placed upside down so as to function as a step-block.²⁸⁹ Certainly, however, this was not a general pattern in the sixth century. Christianisation toward pagan monuments as symbols of paganism depended on local circumstances and the leading individuals involved. Establishment of churches on pagan sites in Asia Minor is particularly attested from the fifth century, after the temples had been abandoned and destroyed.²⁹⁰ In contrast to the situation in Greece, episcopal churches in Asia Minor were often built on the sites of temples. Most famous is the Church of the Virgin in Ephesus, adjacent to the Hadrianic Olympieion. In the sixth century

²⁸⁹ Kallias, *The Athenian Acropolis*, 90–91; G. G. Cameron, 'The Conversion of the Temple of Asclepius in Athens in Context: Post-Hellenic Roman Athens', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 121 (2001), 1–15.

²⁹⁰ J. G. G. Cameron, 'The Conversion of the Temple of Asclepius in Athens: A Case Study of the Christianization of Paganism', *ACAC*, 12 (1991), 11–15.

temple of Isis at Philae, which, like Nese, was burned there (Plan V). While the interior of the temple was destroyed, the exterior, which the aqueduct passed through, its façade remained standing, assuming the characteristic of the middle of the eighth century when it collapsed in an earthquake. If the temple was indeed destroyed in 700, it may have been maintained also for its connection with the city's prosperity.²⁷⁰ Similar examples can be found in the West. The temple of the temple of the Dioscuri at Naples, which the church of San Paolo Maggiore was built, was kept and only the images of the gods were destroyed. Early in the fifth century the cathedral of Thessalonica was built in the foundations of the forum of which was preserved.²⁷¹

The urban learned élites, albeit in decreasing numbers, continued to express their appreciation of the artistic value of the temples. They admired them for their great size, architectural beauty, and as symbols of the ancient culture.²⁷² Aeneas of Gaza refers to the attraction that intellectuals felt for the monuments of Athens.²⁷³

Despoliation

In early Byzantine cities despoliation of abandoned temples and civic buildings and reuse of their material in new constructions was widely practiced.²⁷⁴ The emperor Julian obliged those who had built their houses with stones from dilapidated temples to pay for them. Columns taken from temples were returned by ships or wagons.²⁷⁵ Imperial legislation encouraged the despoliation of temples for the construction of bridges, aqueducts and walls, while slabs of marble were removed, even from tombs, to be used as adornments even for banqueting halls and porticoes, which was considered a disgraceful practice.²⁷⁶ The Fathers of the Church reacted to the widespread despoliation of tombs, and Gregory of Nazianzus emphasized the issue in eighty epigrams, one of which is entitled *To those who build churches out of stones taken from tombs*.²⁷⁷ This trend began in the fourth century when public buildings were abandoned and it subsequently accelerated. Archaeology vividly illustrates the process of dilapidation of ancient buildings and the recycling of their material. The large amount of marble chips found at the

²⁷⁰ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.12.2; *idem*, *Urbanism* 111.

²⁷¹ R. Nollberg, *Inschriften des Dionysia* (Napoli: Università di Napoli), *Unidagione medievale* di Andrea Palladio nel Museo Nazionale di Stoccolma, *Monumenti* 11 (1990), 137-138; *Nova*, 'Necropolis' 137-138.

²⁷² *Chronica*, ed. Chabot, vol. II, pp. 262-263 (the temple of Zeus Helios at Baalbek). See also *Panegyricus S. Claudii*, 499 (the temples of Egypt).

²⁷³ *Index of Texts*, M. E. Colonna (Napoli 1983), 315-16.

²⁷⁴ On the use of spolia in early Byzantine buildings for convenience and their function in creating new aesthetic trends see F. W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur* (Munich 1975); *idem*, *Il materiale di spoglio nell'architettura tardoantica* (Clermont-Ferrand 1976), 117-140; *idem*, *Antiqua* (Clermont-Ferrand 1976), 623-749; A. Güter, *Re-use of spolia in the late antique architecture of the East* (Leiden 1979). For the West see W. Perkins, *From Column to Column*, 212-213; *idem*, *Re-Living*, 228-244; J. A. Roberts, *Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Background and Architectural Re-use*, *JRP* 48 (1994), 167-178; J. H. Forsyth, *Art with History: The Role of Spolia in the Constantinian World of Art* (Münster 1995), 101-102; D. Kinn, *Rape or Restoration of the Past? Interpreting Spolia in S. C. Scott (ed.), Papers in Art History*, *Ann. The Pennsylvania State University*, IX (1995), 52-67; H. Nollberg, *The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence*, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3 (1997), 395-423; *idem*, *Lausental Spolia: The reuse of ancient monuments in the Middle Ages* (Milan 1998).

²⁷⁵ *Leges*, *De NVII* 126-11, 210-211.

²⁷⁶ *Code Justinien*, *De NVII* 126-11, 210-211.

²⁷⁷ *Archaeologia*, VIII, 173. On the use of funerary monuments in new structures see Coates Stephens, *Spolia*, 350-352.

temple of Isis at Philae shows that after the temple collapsed the stones were re-used in the building.²⁷⁸ In Constantinople, the stones between the Fountain Court of the cathedral and the temple of Athena (two buildings were found in 1955) to produce marble slabs for pavement or wall revetment, and some were left in place.²⁷⁹ Bath C at Antioch was totally dilapidated at the time of Justinian; bricks, marble floor, wall revetment, and masonry from the walls were all taken in operations whose trenches survive, showing great wealth of material in this and other buildings, that the workers never went to the bottom but only scraped out the material, breaking many of the bricks, the fragments of which were found scattered all through the lower stratum of debris, together with such stones from the core of the walls as had been dislodged and discarded, and many pieces of roof tiles.²⁸⁰ Next to the stadium of Messene a funeral monument was dismantled in the early Byzantine period for its metal. 1400 architectural members were found around the podium lacking their metal joints. The members bore traces of the instruments used to break the stone and remove the metal.²⁸¹ Some early Byzantine buildings were built almost entirely of spolia. For example, 2000 reused blocks have been counted incorporated in the group of churches of Katapoliani in Paros in the fifth to the sixth century. Eleven seats of the proscenium of the theatre were reused for the synthronon of the fifth-century basilica and the Justinianic basilica.²⁸² The churches of Gerasa were also built with spolia; most remarkable is that of bishop Marianos by the hippodrome, built in 570 entirely of spolia and using a small column as altar.²⁸³ In Pella in the Civic Complex Church, next to the theatre, the twenty columns were of different styles and taken from various buildings.²⁸⁴ In the theatre/odeum at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria all the slabs were re-used and they were of various forms and materials.²⁸⁵ The method employed in recycling old building material in new constructions is to be observed in the finds at various archaeological sites. For example at Hagia Sophia the east wall of the Christian Basilica E1 were marked with two numbers on the upper part to identify their exact position in the wall, the one of the layer and the other one of the position of each block.²⁸⁶ From example from later centuries, after the baths of Kom el-Dikka were destroyed by an earthquake in 795, they were dismantled and architectural material, consisting of pillars, columns from the colonnade, courtyard, and various architectural ornaments, was gathered for reuse. Traces of masonry in the walls where columns and bases were to be cut for the new use.²⁸⁷ At the end of the early Byzantine period, when the economic conditions of communities were deteriorating, after destruction caused by natural disasters, the new churches were often built with spolia from the earlier destroyed buildings.²⁸⁸

²⁷⁸ Williams, *Temple*, 130.

²⁷⁹ Crowfoot, *Christian Churches*, 185.

²⁸⁰ *Antioch*, 1, 20.

²⁸¹ J. A. Cooper, *Scamilli impares and the Heron at Messene*, in L. Haseberger (ed.), *Apparatus*, *Journal of the American Institute of Classical Archaeology* (Philadelphia 1999), 185-197.

²⁸² *BCH* 107 (1983), 811-812, 108 (1984), 818-820.

²⁸³ Gajda, *Wielki* and *Blum*, *The Church*, 141.

²⁸⁴ Smith and McNicoll, *Pella*, 104.

²⁸⁵ B. Tkaczew, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria (An Archaeological Map)* (Warsaw 1979), 96.

²⁸⁶ M. Waelkens, in *Sagittario* 1, 101.

²⁸⁷ W. Kolataj, *Les fouilles polonaises à Kom el-Dikka (Alexandrie) en 1968 et 1969*, *ET* 1, 1970, 185 and fig. 4-7.

²⁸⁸ *idem*, *Observations préliminaires sur les fragments de construction architecturale à Kom el-Dikka (Alexandrie)*, *ET* 1, 1970, 225-226.

²⁸⁹ For example, Ch. Bakirtzis, *Archaeological excavations at the site of the church of the Virgin Mary at Antioch*, *ET* 1, 1970, 21-22.

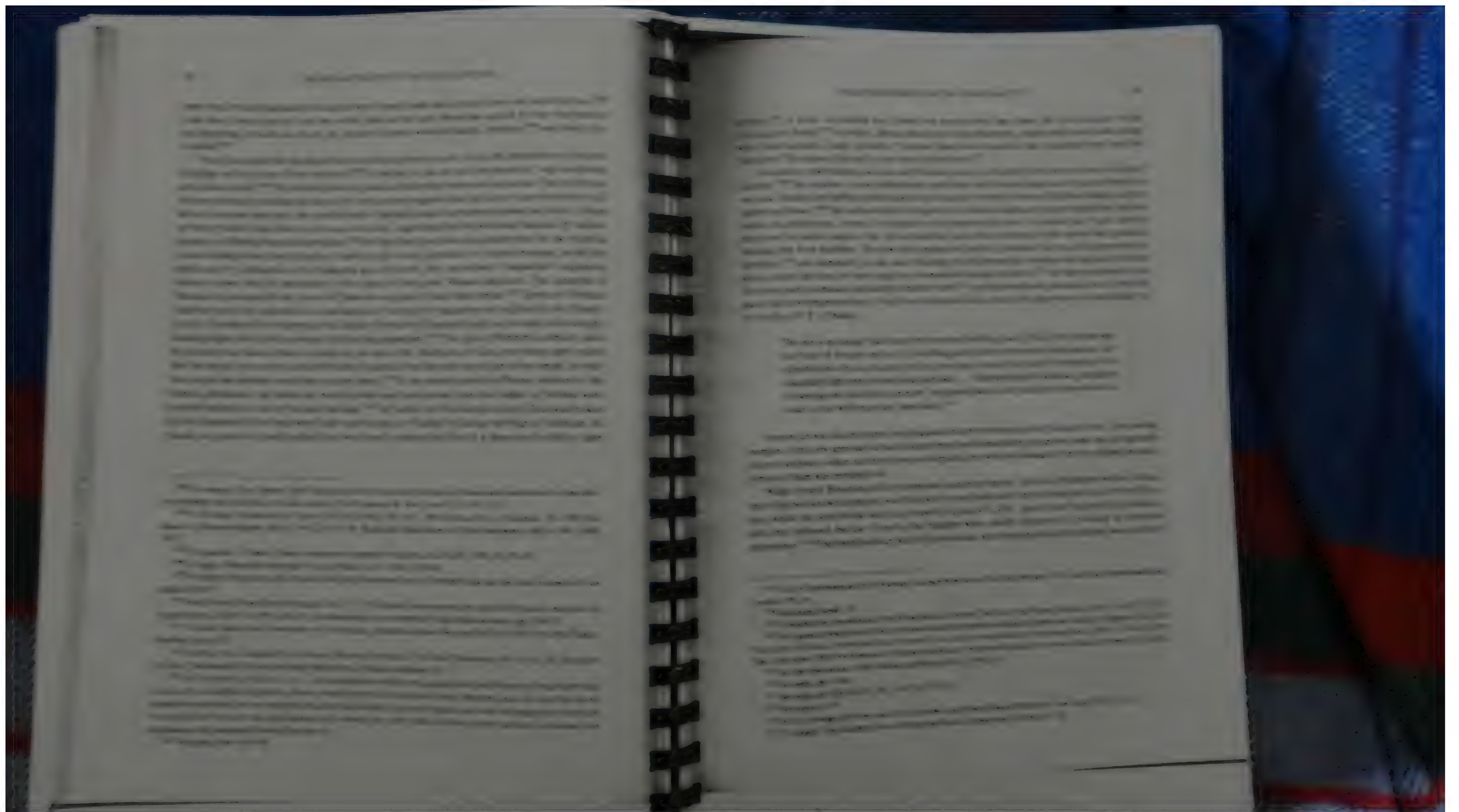




FIG. 47a. Section of the post-Herulian wall in Athens constructed from spolia.



FIG. 47b. Another section of the post-Herulian wall displaying ample use of spolia.



FIG. 48. The so-called Gate of Persecution in Ephesus. This is the main gate in the south side of the wall enclosing the Basilica of St. John and the hill of Ayasuluk. The gate is flanked by two square towers built from spolia. The gate itself is adorned with a sarcophagus relief depicting cupids gathering grapes. Other sarcophagus slabs with mythological scenes are now at Woburn Abbey in England.

rubble masonry and entirely covered on the outside with spolia.²¹¹⁵ Often the spolia were used only in the foundation of walls, or are placed in prominent positions in city gates obviously for their ornamental value (Figure 48).²¹¹⁶ or in the lower part of the city walls to protect them from battering rams or crowbars,²¹¹⁷ or as doorjambs and at the corners of towers to strengthen them.²¹¹⁸ In some early Islamic fine walls, the arrangement of spolia was certainly ornamental, the ornamental design reserved for the outer face of the wall. In the wall at Sparta, it has been suggested that slabs and column drums form a combination imitating metopes and triglyphs.²¹¹⁹ The use of spolia in a section of the post-Herulian wall in Athens stretching from the Stoa of Attalos to the Library of Hadrian created a uniform visual

²¹¹⁵ Ratte, *New research*, 125-126.

²¹¹⁶ For example, S. Kerner and A. Hoffmann, *Gadara: Umm Qeis. Preliminary Report on the 1970 and 1971 Seasons* (Leiden, 1980), 369.

²¹¹⁷ J. J. Wilkes, *Civil defence in third-century Achaia*, in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Roman Empire in the Third Century AD* (London, 1990), 102.

²¹¹⁸ Boswell, *Epistola*, 99-101.

²¹¹⁹ D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

²¹²⁰ D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

²¹²¹ D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

²¹²² D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

²¹²³ D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

²¹²⁴ D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

²¹²⁵ D. Frongia, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* (BAR Int. Series 88, Oxford, 1981), 103.

lustral sprinkler, or a capital with busts of rams.²²⁷ The jambs of the central door of the Petra Church display figures of pagan gods.²²⁸ These and many other objects with pagan decoration were used for their ornamental value. Antiquity was present everywhere, it was enduring, but was now depaganized and adapted to the Christian environment.

Statues

Like temples, some pagan statues were targeted by the Church because they were regarded as the embodiment of paganism, while others were preserved in public and private spheres, appreciated as objects of art. Cult statues were subject to violent destruction by imperial officers and Christians, depending upon local circumstances, and the attitudes of individual bishops. In fact, imperial legislation forbade only the worship of cult statues and the offering of sacrifices. However, it decreed that they be preserved because of their artistic value. Indeed inscriptions from Italy and North Africa record that cult statues were removed by imperial officers from temples to decorate public places and baths.²²⁹ Pagan statues in a secular environment often became the target of Christians, because, in addition to being considered a threat to the new religion, they were regarded as offensive to Christian morality. For example, the statues in the East Bath at Scythopolis were decapitated or defaced at the end of the fifth or early in the sixth century. Before the building was restored in 515/6, they were removed, smashed and buried; while others were burnt to lime.²³⁰ In Corinth, in the second half of the sixth century, in each of the seventh fragments of statues were thrown together in drains, in what appears to have been a ritual, since some have been purified with crosses.²³¹ The gymnasium of Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus displays a well-known example of such treatment of statues. Damaged by the earthquakes of 332 and 342, it was abandoned and only the baths of the gymnasium were restored by Christians in the fifth century and were adorned with many pagan statues from its previous period of use (Figure 51). On one of the columns in the south stoa, a Christian inscription included a supplication to the Virgin to protect the *komar* Constantine, son of the *hypatos*, who was probably responsible for the restoration. Some of the naked parts of the statues were mutilated, to conform to Christian morality. Some, however, were placed on new bases, while others were thrown in drains or built into walls.²³² Since most of them were found without heads, one may wonder whether the final phase of destruction was caused by Christians, sometimes in the sixth century when Christianity was firmly established and there was an intolerance of ancient culture, as was the case with the statues of the baths of Scythopolis. A group of statues of the Ptolemaic period decorated an *exedra* at the Serapeum of Memphis depicting Homer surrounded by ten poets and philosophers. They were knocked off their bases, probably in the course of the confrontations between pagans and Christians. Later they were again set up on their bases.²³³ The statues of the gods Heracles and Hermes, protectors of the gymnasium of Messene, were smashed by the Christians.²³⁴ The attacks by imperial officers and bishops in the reign of Theodosius whose anti-pagan

²²⁷ D. N. Papanicolaou, *Archaeological Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²²⁸ P. J. F. M. H. van der Meer, *Petra* (1964), 111.

²²⁹ I. L. F. de Beaufort, *Excavations at Petra* (Leiden, 1908), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²³⁰ D. N. Papanicolaou, *Archaeological Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²³¹ D. N. Papanicolaou, *Archaeological Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²³² D. N. Papanicolaou, *Archaeological Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²³³ D. N. Papanicolaou, *Archaeological Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²³⁴ D. N. Papanicolaou, *Archaeological Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.



FIG. 51. Statues in the east bath at Scythopolis. The photograph shows the ruins of the bath. Some of the statues depicting the Roman palatine were set on new bases. The photograph shows the statues displayed around the central part of the bath. The statues were set on new bases.

legislation gave the signal for waves of destruction are not unique. At Antioch, the temple of the goddess of the sun was destroyed by the agents of Theodosius. In Palmyra, in a small temple of Anah Athena, the statue of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents. The statue of the goddess had been struck at the back of the head and knocked down, the nose, cheeks and mouth were crushed, the neck was broken, while the lower part of the body, the head and arms were also damaged.²³⁵ Major ecclesiastical events, such as the Council of Chalcedon, were also accompanied by the destruction of statues.²³⁶ Burying cult statues in the foundations of churches and incorporating them into their walls symbolically declared the victory of the new religion over paganism. Some temples were completely destroyed by the Christians, so that no statues were found during the excavations.²³⁷

In the *Life of Severus* by Zachariah Scholasticus, we find a detailed description of the destruction and destruction of cult statues during the reign of Zenon and a description of the destruction of the temple of the goddess of the sun at Antioch.

²³⁵ See, Mendelkova, *Christian Antioch*, 47-50.

²³⁶ P. J. F. M. H. van der Meer, *Excavations at Petra* (Beirut, 1962), 111; *BCHE* 1953, 194, 123.

²³⁷ For example, at Scythopolis, the east bath was destroyed by the Christians, and the statues of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents.

²³⁸ For example, at Scythopolis, the east bath was destroyed by the Christians, and the statues of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents.

²³⁹ For example, at Scythopolis, the east bath was destroyed by the Christians, and the statues of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents.

²⁴⁰ For example, at Scythopolis, the east bath was destroyed by the Christians, and the statues of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents.

²⁴¹ For example, at Scythopolis, the east bath was destroyed by the Christians, and the statues of the goddess and the altar were found inside the temple, destroyed by imperial agents.

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In the sixth century pagan idols were hung in the streets of Antioch, intended to be objects of ridicule as part of the efforts by the governor to suppress paganism in the city.²¹⁴³ St. Abramius destroyed pagan idols in a pagan village near Lampsacus on the Hellespont after building a church there.²¹⁴⁴ Images of pagan gods are rarely mentioned in the sixth century in a polemical spirit. In the reign of Justinian, during the persecution of pagans in Heliopolis, Edessa and Antioch, the governor and procurator of Edessa, Anatolius, was caught in his house with an icon, one side of which showed Apollo and the other, Christ, an object designed to conceal the paganism of the owner.²¹⁴⁵ Mosaics depicting pagan themes were still kept in rich houses, until the function of the houses was so radically altered, that such mosaics could no longer be tolerated. We are told that in a Christian house in Amaseia a wall mosaic depicting Aphrodite was demolished only when the owner decided to convert the house into a monastery.²¹⁴⁶ By the seventh century, stories of the destruction of pagan statues are presented as belonging to a remote past and they no longer concern people. One example will serve to illustrate this. St. Spyridon was depicted destroying a pagan statue in Alexandria in a fresco situated above the central door of his church at Trithemoussa, where the relics of the saint lay. The event, however, had eventually been forgotten by the middle of the seventh century, when Theodore of Paphos came to write the *Life* of Spyridon and includ-

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2. M. K. Kozlov, *Chim. i. Prikl. Khim.*, 1967, 40, 1237.

* *Rund*. New research: 171. On the earlier Roman tradition of mutilation and destruction of statues see P. Stewart, *The*

The construction of national Late Antiquity in *Mare Coelestius* (Leipzig, 1981)

of the episode of the destruction of the statue, which he had found in a book. Only when Theodore's *Life* was read in church on the festival of St. Spyridon, was the connection made between the episode retailed in Theodore's *Life* and the event depicted in the fresco.²¹⁴

Learned members of the upper class appreciated the artistic value of the statues and tried to preserve them in collections, especially from the reign of Theodosius on, when his measures against paganism provoked waves of destruction. Early in the fifth century, the private collection in the palace of Lausus included famous works of art such as the chryselephantine statue of Zeus from Olympia by Phidias, the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, the Samian Hera of Lysippos, Eros, Cronos (or Kaïros) and Boupalos.²²⁴⁹ According to the *Life* of St. Melania the Younger, when in 404 she and her husband Valerius Maximus decided to devote themselves to ascetic life, they donated their statues to the empress Serena, wife of emperor Honorius.²²⁵⁰ The views of collectors toward classical art are expressed in an epigram by Palladas on the collection of ancient statues by Marine, daughter of the emperor Arcadius. Such initiatives Christianized the statues and thus saved them from being melted for the bronze by the Christians. The collection had apparently survived into the middle Byzantine period and it was part of the decoration of the bath restored by Leo VI.²²⁵¹ The collection of M statues in the baths of Zeuppupus in Constantinople, which were destroyed in a fire in 532, included about eighty pieces.²²⁵² Rich peristyle houses at the end of the fourth century and in the early fifth contained important collections of statues. A villa in Antioch, built at that time and destroyed during the Persian invasion in 540 or by the Arabs in 637, contained imperial portraits, copies of statues of gods, heroes and other mythological subjects. The House of Menander at Daphne near Antioch, destroyed in the late fifth or early sixth century, contained another collection of small statues.²²⁵³ Another example is the so-called Theodosian Palace or House of Parthenius in Siob, also built in the second half of the fourth century or in the early fifth.²²⁵⁴ For intellectuals and the remaining pagans, ancient statues, in addition to possessing artistic value, were also profoundly symbolic in cultural and religious terms. According to the *Life* of Proclus by Marinus, when it was decided that the Parthenon be converted into a church, the goddess Athena appeared to him in his dreams, and asked him to take her statue to his house.²²⁵⁵ When House C on the Areopagus in Athens was abandoned, probably during Justinian's measures against the pagans and the closing of the Academy, statues were carefully deposited in a well and sealed, the purpose of the owners probably being to retrieve them upon their return. In a house in a northern district of Athens, the famous copy of Athena Varvakeios was also found, concealed with two other pieces of sculpture.²²⁵⁶

cf. Van den Broek, *La légende de S. Servais, évêque de Trèveris* (Louvain 1953), c. 20, pp. 81-91 and p. 81-87.

²⁴⁰ C. Mango, M. Vickers and E. D. Francis, *The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and its Collection of Ancient Statues*, *Journal of the History of Collections* 4.1 (1992), 89-98.

¹⁴ J. S. Melancon, *un.*, c. 14 (p. 150).

12. *Anthologia Graeca* IX 528. See C. M. Bowra, Pallas and the Converted Olympians, *BZ* 55 (1960), 1-7, C. Mango.

¹ See supra p. 132N and fn. 1945.

1972 D. M. Brinkens (fl.), *Icones of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Art* (New York 1970) (Brinkens III).

Wiseman, *Stoib* 45-46. Mikulík, *Stoib* 175. For Ephesus see C. Lang, *Kinglet* (ed. Hanguwari) in *Ephesus*, Paris 1997.

und Ausstattung (Vienna 2005; *Epistola VIII* 4, 154 ff.)

το *ἄνθρωπος* στο *πάντα* και τα *ἀνθρώπινα* κινήματα μεταφράσει Ἐδουάρδο ντε ντε Γουαζάρντο ὅπως φαίνεται από την

[illegible][illegible]

Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 41, 87-88; L. Jones-Rogers, *Athena from a House on the Acropolis*, *Hesperia* 60 (1951), 1-12.

197-410 K. Lange. Die Athena Parthenos. MD 41-44 (1890). 3 Pls. 2. A. Kallwey. Die Athena Parthenos.

The *Phaedra* and *Symplegma* poems in *Classical Arabic* have a long literary tradition, but this is not, however, reflected in the literature of the sixth century. The intellectuals all shared the same cultural tradition, but the *Phaedra* and *Symplegma* poems, the 'double monuments' in us, are second only to the personal and the semi-personal *Phaedra* poems of the last Naxos. The *Symplegma* poems, 'double building in Greek', including a representative of the myths of *Phaedra* and *Hippolytus*, *Andria* and *Theseus*, *Aphrodite* and scenes from the *Iliad*. He also wrote a poetic *epiphany* of a mechanical clock at Gaza with animated mythological figures, which included *Hercules* performing his twelve labours, the sun moving around on a circle, *Pan* and *Dionysus* playing the trumpet. *Iohn* of Gaza in a poetic *epiphany* described a painting in the winter palace of Gaza.²⁵² In the *Wars* of Procopius, the ancient monuments are mentioned and admired, for they represent a glorious, powerful past. This is expressed in the words of *Bellarbus*, in his efforts to save the monuments of Rome from destruction by the Goths.²⁵³ However, neither hesitation nor remorse appears in the lines of the passage relating the destruction of statues in Rome for the purpose of defence. The Byzantines broke the marble statues of the *Mausoleum of Hadrian*, of wonderful workmanship (*εὐκλειαν* - *εὐκλειαν* *εὐκλειαν*), and hurled them against the Goths ascending the wall.²⁵⁴ In Procopius

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} m v^2 \right) = \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} m \dot{x}^2 \right)$

[illegible]

1. *Math. Ann.* 1894, 43, 44, 45, 46.

...the statue of the emperor Constantine, which was carried off to Constantinople, was placed in the Forum of Peace, where it was kept for many years. ...the statue of the emperor Constantine, which was carried off to Constantinople, was placed in the Forum of Peace, where it was kept for many years. ...the statue of the emperor Constantine, which was carried off to Constantinople, was placed in the Forum of Peace, where it was kept for many years.

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Pagan monuments and superstition

The most pronounced interest in ancient statues is expressed in tales regarding their supernatural powers. Superstitious beliefs associated with statues become increasingly important in the literary sources of the early centuries. The belief that statues were inhabited by demons and so possessed supernatural powers, and could in ancient times and places, even their own, which are attested in all social milieux, including educated circles, their existence in Byzantine times does not imply a detachment from, and even a rejection of, ancient culture. In the *Life of Severus* written by Zachariah Scholasticus, both pagans and Christians of Menuthis fear the power of the pagan gods, whose cult statues have been destroyed by Christians. The local priest pronounces a prayer including in the words of Cor. 13:19 and Gal. 3:19: 'I pray that I may be able to pass the night without fear.' In the *Life of the Patriarch Euthymius* written by the monk Euthymius, the statue of a pagan god in Antioch is brought into the church and placed in the hands of the monks. In the *Life of the Patriarch Euthymius* written by the monk Euthymius, the statue of a pagan god in Antioch is brought into the church and placed in the hands of the monks. In the *Life of the Patriarch Euthymius* written by the monk Euthymius, the statue of a pagan god in Antioch is brought into the church and placed in the hands of the monks.

¹⁷⁷ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁷⁸ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁷⁹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁰ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸¹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸² *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸³ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁴ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁵ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁶ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁷ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁸ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁸⁹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁰ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹¹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹² *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹³ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁴ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁵ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁶ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁷ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁸ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

¹⁹⁹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

²⁰⁰ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

²⁰¹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

²⁰² *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

²⁰³ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

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²⁴² *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

The prophetic power of statues in particular becomes more prominent in a wide variety of texts in the 5th century. It is clear that there is a pronounced need to create etiological myths and urban *marabhas* in order to explain contemporary events and future catastrophes. The collapse of a statue was regarded as an omen, a sign of forthcoming misfortunes. Procopius of Gaza in his monody on St. Sophia includes the collapse of statues among various calamities,²¹⁷ whilst Malalas also considered collapsing statues a sign of imminent misfortune.²¹⁸ We have already mentioned how Procopius refers to a prophecy connected with the statue of Myron's brazen bull in Rome when a herd of cattle went into the Forum of Peace.²¹⁹ In the *Parastasis* and the *Patria* the statues of Constantinople are animated and capable of foretelling future catastrophes. In the time of Anastasius, the statue of the reclining Heracles by Lysippus in the hippodrome of Constantinople was thought to predict future disasters.²²⁰ A statue of Aphrodite at the Zeugma in Constantinople had the power to reveal maidens who had lost their virginity and adulterous women. The emperor Maurice ordered the bronze statue of an ox to be thrown into the harbour of Neoron, because according to a tradition it bellowed once a year and disasters subsequently occurred on the same day. Maurice also ordered the destruction of the statue of the Tyche of Constantinople, Anthousa, brought to the capital from Rome by Constantine the Great and various other statues by the Exaktonion.²²¹ John Lydus insists that weeping statues forecast civil wars.²²² It is important to note that belief in the prophetic power of statues was applied to Christian statues. John the Stylite writes that during a pagan festival at Edessa in 495/6, the cross belonging to the statue of Constantine fell, receded into the ground about a cubit, and came back upon its position only on Sunday.²²³ According to John of Ephesus, Justin II ordered that two bronze statues of himself and of the empress Sophia be set up. They were later overturned by a strong storm and were found with their heads in the ground and a sign of future misfortune.²²⁴ Theophylact Simocatta relates that the most prominent of the statues of the Tyche of Alexandria moved at night and predicted to a passing *kallikratis* the execution of Maurice by Phocas. The execution was confirmed two days later (a. 602).²²⁵

Finally, belief in the protective power of statues over cities remained strong in spite of the Christianization of the empire. The *telesmaia hramena* of Apollonius of Tyana were mentioned as talismans by the cities and Malalas gives a lengthy account of them: their prophetic power and the tales woven around them. They had become part of the urban traditions. An anonymous Syriac text mentions the 'telesmaia hramena' of the magician Apollonius were still practised, some for their power of fending off animals and birds that could do harm, others for diverting the stream of rivers flowing irregularly, while others were regarded as capable of averting destruction of *synagoga* and *hramina*.²²⁶ In the 740s, Leontius of Neapolis, biographer of St. John the Almsgiver, states that some of the talismans of the inhabitants of Tyana took pride in Apollonius.²²⁷ Stories of ancient statues, timeless in narrative, were

²¹⁷ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

²¹⁸ *Malalas*, 416.15-20. 419.14. See Moffat, *Byzantine*, 108.

²¹⁹ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

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²⁸⁵ *Procopius*, *Wars*, *Monarchy*, 1.1.1.

As a result, *phantasmata* dominated ancient coin production in assigned coinage use: were presented one or another form in both the urban landscape and private sphere. Because they were expressions of the emperor, from some age they had become associated with the life of the common people. They satisfied both the antiquarian taste of a learned elite, for whom they were permanent reminders of ancient glory. As object of superstitious beliefs and supposedly endowed with the prophetic power to reveal the future, they acquired a utilitarian function in people's life. Interest in antiquities was expanding, as was interest in the building and content of the monuments. The programs in the Hippodrome of Constantinople were viewed in the sixth century.¹⁰⁰ Pausanias mentions several inscriptions and Malalas records twenty-one of them, the majority referring to Anchoch. It seems, however, that most, if not all of them, were copied from literary sources and not directly from monuments.¹⁰¹ Agathias also might have copied an inscription from the Hippodrome (see the *Pharmakopoeia*).¹⁰²

The destruction and abandonment of the pagan monuments marks a radical break with the ancient past. In the cities the ancient monuments survived, albeit now broken down into spolia everywhere or as beautiful façades of empty buildings or as parts of new Christian or military structures. Around them were woven superstitious tales which were universally believed. It is true that such attitudes were inher-

1. H. B. G. James, *Knowledge and its Limits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).
2. Jeffrey, *Malawi*.

Another aspect of the process of Christianization of the ancient past was the deprecation of pagan myths and symbols and their Christian reinterpretation. Scenes of pagan mythology and pagan symbols continue to appear well into the sixth century and beyond on sculpture, and some examples from different cities were given above. We have also mentioned that in the private sphere too, pagan sculpture long remained an important element of decoration. Moreover, mosaics with pagan mythological scenes were reinterpreted to bear a philosophical or Christian allegorization or were used by pagans to subvert Christian teaching or to project the qualities of their wealthy owners.²¹⁵ One example will illustrate this tendency. Mannus Scholastikus explains that the representation of Eros garlanded does not depict the son of vulgar Cyprus nor did Eros spring from the earth. Rather, he symbolizes love for learning.²¹⁶ "But I am he who lights the torch of learning in the pure minds of mortals, and leads the soul up to heaven. From the four Virtues I weave garlands, and carrying these, one of each, I crown myself with the first, the crown of Wisdom."²¹⁷ In the sixth-century manuscript illumination of the Vienna Dioscorides, fol. 6v, in the medallion bearing the image of Juliana Anicia, in front of her is shown an Eros holding an open book. An inscription identifies him as $\alpha\lambda\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma \phi\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$. Other Eroses are engaged in crafts in the border scenes. To the left of the medallion appears the inscription $\alpha\lambda\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma \sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\varsigma$.²¹⁸ Sometimes on mosaics in houses pagan scenes are combined with Christian symbols. On the mosaic pavement of a house in Madaba, dated to the fifth century, there appears a naked Satyr with a Mosaic and a kantharos

¹⁹⁹⁸ A. Kierulff, Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination, New York 1997, pp. 14

²⁰ A. Kitzinger / *Acta Oeconomica* 52 (2004) 1–17

In the visual world of the sixth-century cities, ancient monuments were present, but decaying, defeated by the age, the attacks of the Christians, and the indifference of the contemporaries for whom their significance was slipping away. The dominant impression conveyed by archaeology is that of a profound break with a past made visible by these monuments. At the same time most of our sources indicate that irrationality had increased and the monuments thus became vehicles of superstition, both feared and needed at the same time, because they could foretell future events. There was also a drive to comprehend the past in Christian terms and to absorb the pagan remains into the dominant ideology of Christianity. Ideological analogies with paganism were found regarding moral issues. The striking effort to appropriate the legacy of the past in the form of its monuments and artistic themes was more likely to endure among the learned upper class, the intellectual climate of which nourished idealization of the past.

²⁶ Lauterbach, Maxime, Hubsch, Johannes, Will, Aljoscha, J. J. Wengert, in: *Handbuch Ergebnisse der Arithmetik*, 2. Aufl., herausgegeben von Jürgen Neukirch, 1993, II, Kap. 1, arith. Algebra, 10.1, 10.1.144.

- H. P. de Vries: *Procedures for Analyzing Therapeutic Change* (Hampshire) '84, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842,

CHAPTER 11

CHURCHES IN URBAN SPACE AND TIME

Construction of churches ended the topography of the early Christian period, and the authority of the new religion. Roman architectural tradition and new religious ideas created magnificent Christian monumental complexes. At a time when the Roman Empire was in a declining stage, Christian religious architecture lent the cities a future, creating new landmarks in the urban landscape. The architecture of the early Christian basilicas and their appendages baptisteries, chapels, bishops' palaces and ecclesiastical baths, houses for the clergy, hostels, hospices and monasteries for the poor, and fortified churches and fortifications, played a role in the urban landscape. The investigation of this period

Church architecture focused on the interior space where the act of worship took place. In external complexes, the propylaea and atria surrounded the peristyle, which was the main entrance to the church nave. Symbolically, church architecture and decoration, which favours ornament over form, promoted the concept of the sublime, in contrast to the classical concept of beauty and order. Circular columns, capitals and marble revetments at the doorways and on the interior walls, as well as the sparkling mosaic, created a theocratic, dimensioned and elevated space. Proclus, who describes the religious experience that Christians felt upon entering the church, describes the church as a temple. The church revealed a metaphysical dimension, and the church was a place where the faithful entered into a spiritual sphere. And whenever one enters the church, one is lifted up to God, and that it is not by any human power or skill but by the influence of God, the church is turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and raised toward him that He is not especially low to dwell in this place which He has made.

Mr. J. C. Brown, Graduate from Andrews University

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and the bishop's palace. In the upper city three churches were built: Basilica C, the cruciform Basilica B m between the gate of the upper city and the circular place, and Basilica F opposite Basilica B, although further to the west at the foot of the acropolis. All these churches have approximately the same length and width. In the lower city Basilica G or the Double Basilica, and Basilica D were built, the latter being the second largest church after the cathedral, 45 m long. Outside the walls of the lower city stood Basilica E to the east, and Basilica J further away to the southwest. Justiniana Prima had eight churches, all large basilicas, and all constructed as part of the same project.²²²⁵ The location of most of the churches along the central avenue leading from the gate to the circular place and to the acropolis emphasizes their eminence in urban topography and their role in the city's culture and socio-economic structure. It has been suggested, albeit with reservations, that their location might have been dictated by the needs of processional and stationary liturgy, similar to that performed in Jerusalem.²²²⁶ In addition, in sixth-century cities, Christian festivals involved processions from one church to another.²²²⁷ In Justiniana Prima, the churches' central location may have been dictated by practical reasons, i.e. the topography and the need to make them easily accessible to people. It also expressed the Church's importance as an institution in the city's life: the most prominent position in the city, the acropolis on the hilltop, was reserved for the episcopal church and the bishop's palace, while the headquarters for the military and civil administration were assigned second place in the lower part of the city, the Church thereby conveying a powerful ideological message. Furthermore, in the sixth-century city traditional urban features, such as street colonnades, become subordinate to churches and were to enhance the churches' architectural authority. Thus the portico of the central avenue in front of Basilica B lost its function as a street portico and was substantially modified to function as an entrance to the church. Instead of pillars, it possessed columns, and its width was reduced by a staircase, built facing the street.²²²⁸ In the same church particular effort was made to enhance the façade with the monumental entrance. The staircase was impressive and the size of the facade was larger than the rest of the church. Thus the position of the cathedral on the acropolis, the location of several churches along the central avenue, and the architectural design of the second largest church, Basilica B, made powerful statements regarding the dominance of the Church in the city's topography and life.

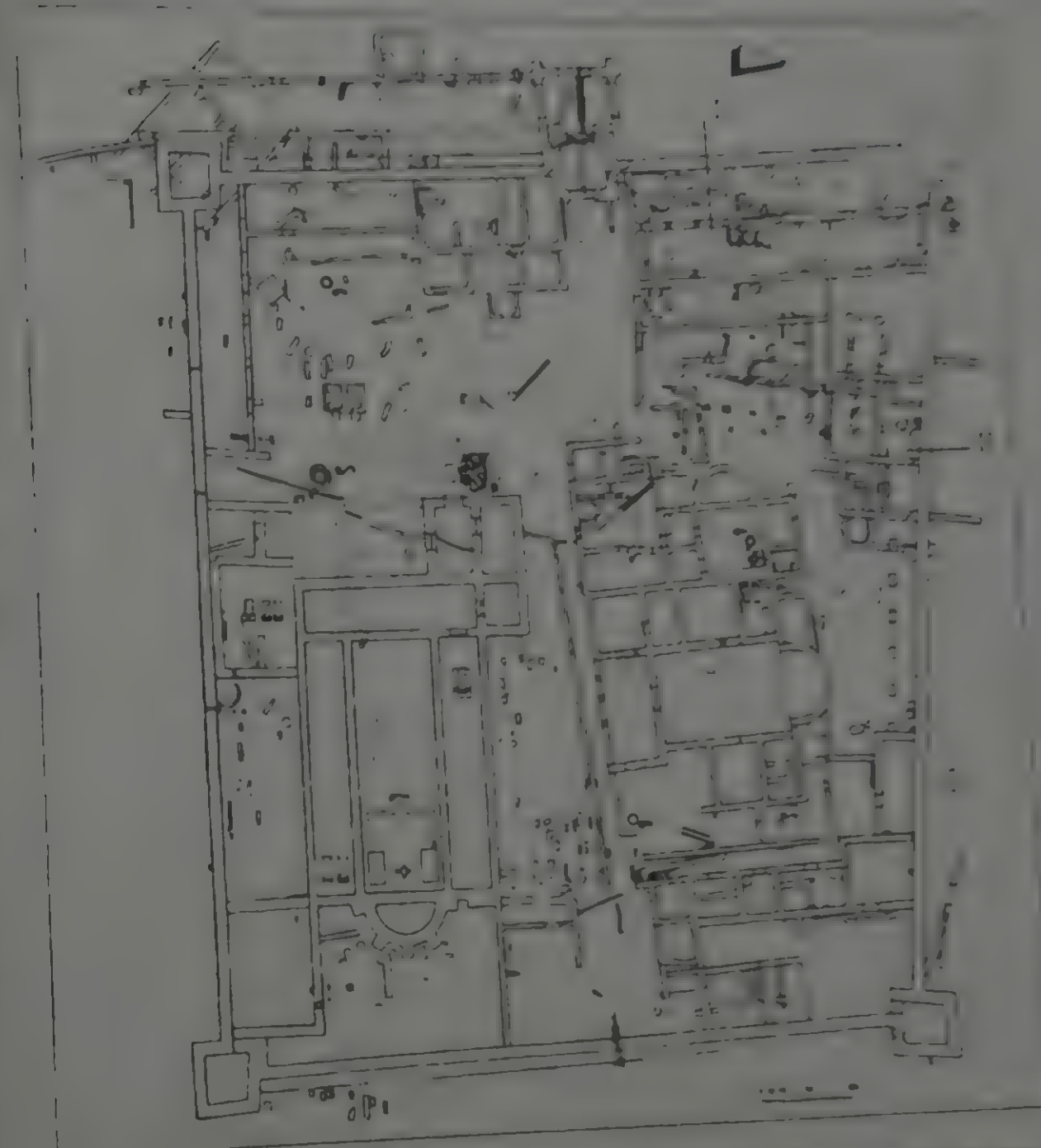
The recently excavated site of Louloudies near Katerini, in northern Greece, a station midway between Thessalonica to Dion, probably the *mansio* or *milidion* Anamon, is another example of a small early Byzantine city with similar topographical characteristics and administrative and socio-economic structure. Under the Tetrarchs, it became a centre serving local administrative and taxation needs that arose, in particular, from the presence of the salt pans in the area. When in 479 the Goths were allowed to settle in Pydna, among other cities, in order to end the siege of Thessalonica, the bishopric was transferred from Pydna 8 km to the south, to the site of Louloudies (Plan 41). The new site, 80x90 m, was fortified with towers at the four corners. It included a fifth-century basilica, the bishop's residence, porticoes with piers, and barracks for the garrison. Although the Goths withdrew from the area in 485, the ecclesiastical centre in Louloudies was maintained. During the reign of Justinian the bishop's complex lost its fortified character and expanded, acquiring storerooms, industrial-sized wine presses, an olive press,

²²²⁵ N. Dölger, 'Zur topographischen Geschichte von Tarrachin Grad im östlichen Teil des Byzantinischen Reiches', in *Villes et peuplements* (1948), 481.

²²²⁶ V. Popović, 'La signification historique de l'architecture religieuse de Tarrachin Grad', *Cronica* XXVI (1979), 308-309.

²²²⁷ *Chorographia* (C. 1. 43) p. 261.4; *Vita S. Theodori Syrologi* (C. 1. 10) p. 36-42 (p. 81). See J. F. Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origin, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome 1987); A. Papaconstantinou, *La transformation de la Chrétienté dans la première moitié du 6^e siècle* (Rédaction et commentaire de POXY XI 1357, RE B 54) (1990), 136-139.

²²²⁸ See supra p. 276.

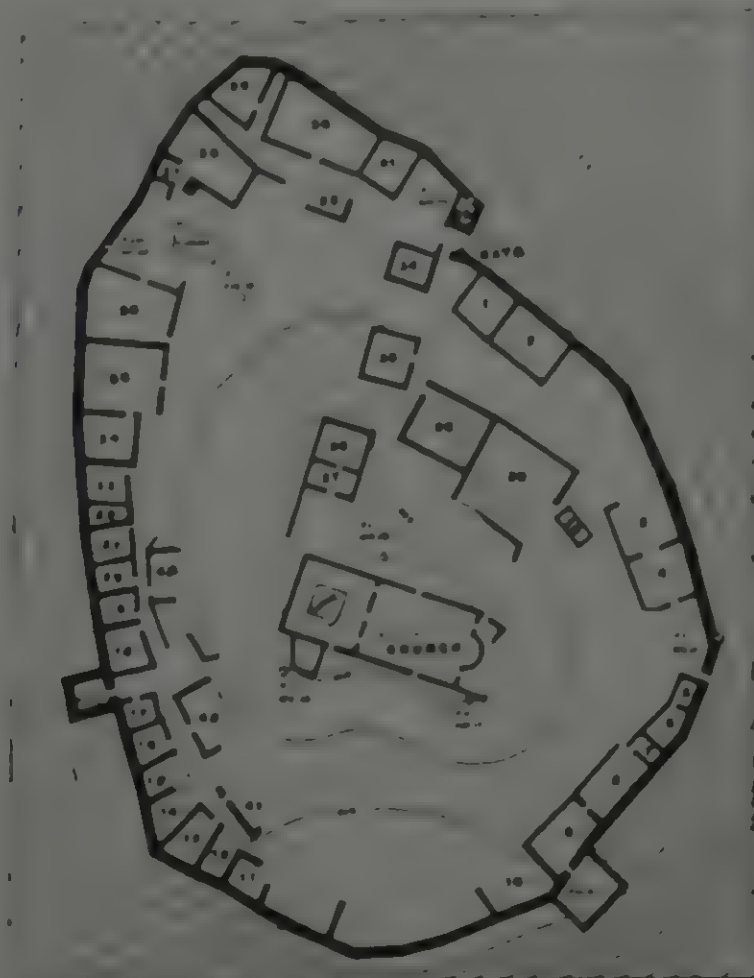


PLAN 41. The Bishop's complex at Louloudies near Pydna in Greece. I. Wine press. II. Oil press.

artisans' workshops and commercial shops. In the same period, a larger basilica was built and the bishop's palace extended west and northeast with new structures, kitchens and a courtyard. At some point after the middle of the sixth century an earthquake destroyed the bishop's palace and the basilica. Only the central nave was restored and a cemetery appeared around it. It was possibly then that the bishop moved to the city of Pydna. The settlement, however, continued its economic activities, which were intensified. New storage rooms were built and the old ones were restored, and after a new destruction in a new earthquake they were restored and the site was raised. In the seventh century another earthquake destroyed the complex and it was consequently abandoned. Workshops were then established on the site for production of bricks, pottery, glass objects, and various tools for small and medium. All the annexes north of the basilica and all the areas of the bishop's residence were destroyed. Poor workshops were also built outside the south and west wall during the Byzantine Dark Ages. Finally, for unknown

in some, the central church dominated the settlement.¹⁰⁷ A similar model for the small early Byzantine city is found near the ancient Greek-Roman city of Panemoteichon in Psidia. Oren Tepe, 2.5 km. west of Panemoteichon, has an Oren Tepe in a small Hellenistic garrison fort (large basileia) of ca. 14.2 km. square built during the fourth/fifth century (Plan 42). This was probably the seat of the bishop of Panemoteichon.¹⁰⁸ In these settlements, there are one or more churches, in combination with facilities for a civilian sector or, at the same time, the Church appears to have controlled major economic activities in the area.

In cities of large and medium size, churches gradually occupied the urban centre. They are found, looking central squares, at major thoroughfares, on the sites of earlier buildings or vaulted long, in residential districts or ancient city centres. There are many examples of city centres occupied by churches. In the Balkans, at Trpisium, Thracia, three central basilicas were built at the intersection of the *via principalis* with the *cardo*: the Basilica Simple, the Basilica with Transept and the Basilica Forense (supra, p. 292, Plan 36). In the city centre of Heraclea Lyncestis stood two basilicas aligned on the same axis as the one stood in front of the other, thereby forming a large complex, together with the bishop's palace and *basilica* (Plan 43). Basilica C occupies a prominent position, being larger, located opposite the theatre



PLAN 42. Oren Tepe near Panemoteichon in Psidia.

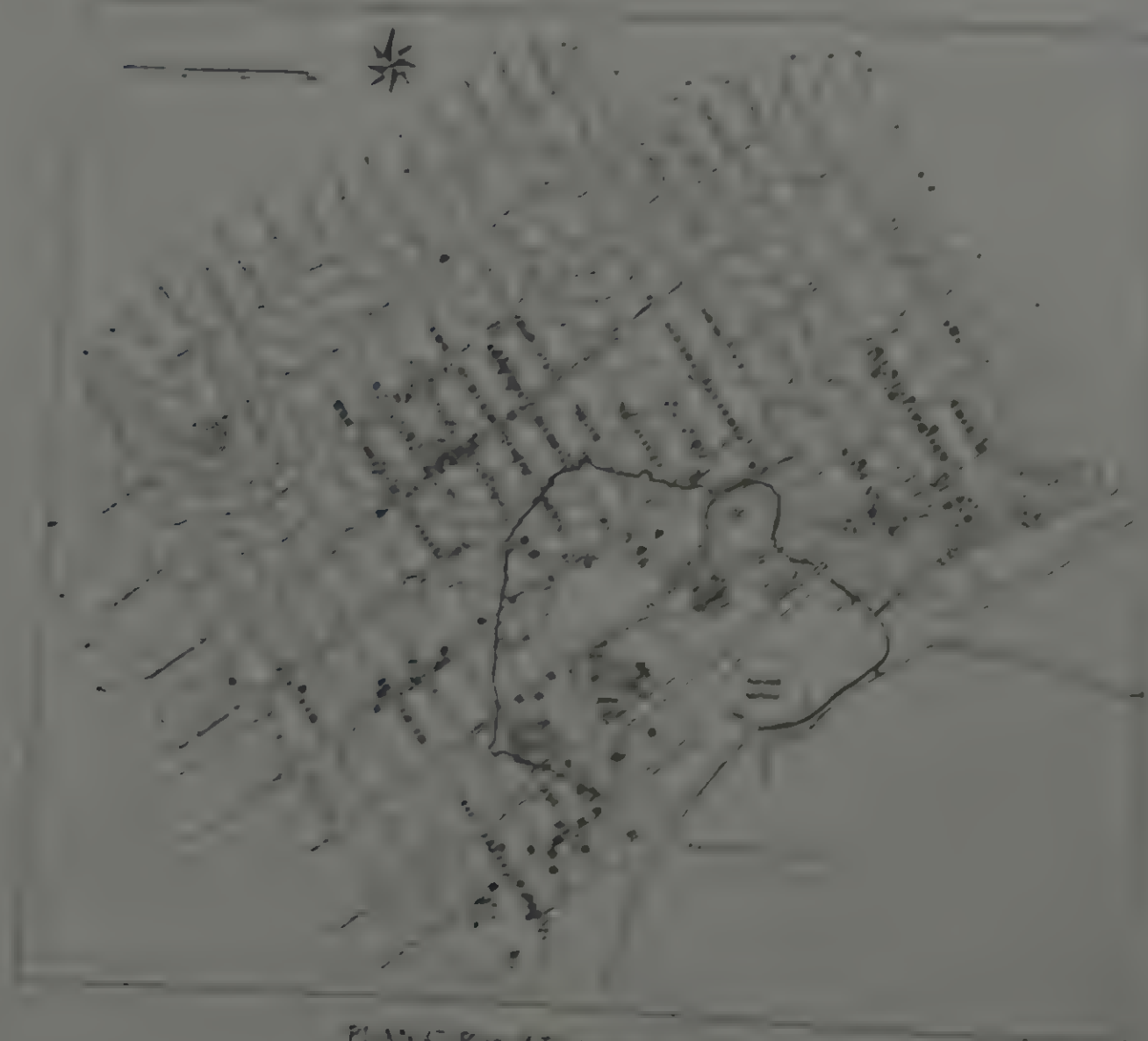
¹⁰⁷ P. Mark, *Archaeologia*, 1997, *AMT* 11 (1997), 289-293; idem, *Kirke, Mithras, and the Temple of the Virgin Mary, Thessalonica* (Thessalonica 2001), 14-23.

¹⁰⁸ S. Aydin and S. Mitchell et al., *The Psidian Survey 1995: Panemoteichon and Oren Tepe*, S. Mitchell, *Oren Tepe, Anatolia* 47 (1997), 170-172.



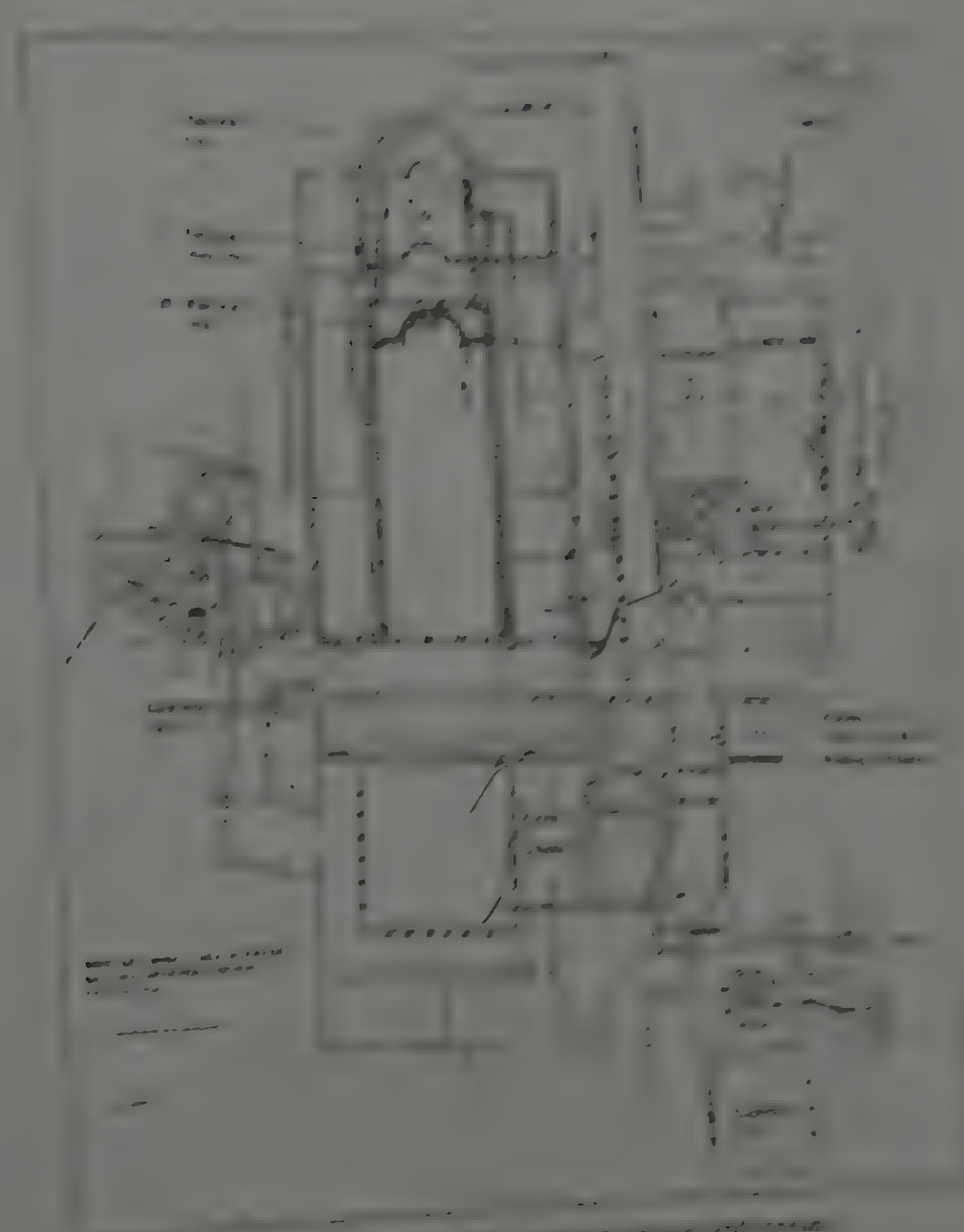
PLAN 43. Heraclea Lyncestis (modern Bledovo) in Macedonia. 1. The theatre, 2. Portico, 3. Basilica, 4. Basilica A, 5. Basilica B, 6. Bishop's palace, 7. Basilica C, 8. Basilica D.

Several ancient and modern ceramics, organized by the Chinese, were attached to the family tomb. These include (1) *Yuhai* (Plat. 7), Near Hanlin, a Votive Tablet of St. Dunstons; and (2) a Chinese Buddhist *Prasasti* (Plat. 8), about 200 m apart from each other, also from an ancient, two-brother-tomb on the right. The Buddhist and various secular institutions, such as a pottery workshop, pottery kiln for cooking and heat storage (Plat. 9). Among the finds are included lamps, clay seals with their Sanskrit *GHRI* (Plat. 10), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 11), a *Yuhai* stone with eight large petals for a *Prasasti* (Plat. 12), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 13), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 14), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 15), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 16), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 17), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 18), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 19), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 20), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 21), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 22), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 23), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 24), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 25), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 26), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 27), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 28), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 29), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 30), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 31), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 32), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 33), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 34), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 35), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 36), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 37), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 38), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 39), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 40), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 41), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 42), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 43), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 44), a *Prasasti* (Plat. 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Ateneum, others in its palace and in other civic buildings.²³⁹ In Aquinum, thirty-century wooden – dominated by clerics (Plin. XX). The *Te Fando Church* occupying a double block, was built at the intersection of the decumanus with the cardo. Nearly opposite stands the Atrium Church. The Rotunda Church contains a large rotunda, 25 m in diameter, probably dating to the reign of Justinian.²⁴¹ The Atrium Church, lavishly decorated with marble revetment and mosaics, and apparently also Justinianic, replaced an early fifth-century church built over a synagoga.²⁴² The nave was flanked by reliquary chapels and a baptistery.²⁴³ The Cathedral Church of Apamea was built 500 m east of the intersection of the cardo and the decumanus, opposite the Pilaster House and the *Consule House* near the city's east gate.²⁴⁴ Its monumental staircase was built over the colonnade of the avenue, a phenomenon also observed in Basilica B of Justiniana Prima. Its forecourt a large, 40x40 m, with porches and mosaics on all sides. Inscriptions identify the bishop as Paul, who sponsored the construction and decoration of the church in the early years of Justinian's reign.²⁴⁵ If this church was the cathedral, it therefore contained a relic of the Holy Cross, brought here by St. Helen and mentioned in accounts of the Persian invasion of 540. In addition, the church held coffers containing the relics of Saints Jude, Callinicus, John, and the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, and another not identified by inscription. Holy oil poured over the relics was directed through a channel in the wall and collected outside the church.²⁴⁶ In addition to the main building, the impressive cathedral complex consisted of numerous other buildings: a funerary chapel to the north, various rooms around a court, another chapel to the south, a baptistery also containing reliquaries, and a second baptistery south of it adjacent to a room for banquets for the catechumens. To the west of the cathedral was the so-called *Triclinos House*, which was also connected with the cathedral and has been identified as the bishop's palace. Between the bishop's palace and the cathedral were two colonnaded courts surrounded by rooms and leading to a bath. In the sixth century the whole area from the east gate and south of the decumanus up to the intersection with the cardo where the Rotunda Church and the Atrium Church were situated had become a large and majestic Christian centre. Another basilica was located to the north along the cardo towards the north gate.

¹⁰⁰ R. F. Longenecker: *Die Christlichen Denkmäler von Ephesus. Eine Bestandsaufnahme als Rück- und Vorwärtsschau. Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 2 (1966) 197–211; H. Thier: *Das Pantheon zu Ephesus. Aspekte zur Frage der Christianisierung des Kapitolin*, in: *Archäologisches Jahrbuch* 1964/65, 259–271.

¹⁰⁰ R. F. Longenecker: *Die Christlichen Denkmäler von Ephesus. Eine Bestandsaufnahme als Rück- und Vorwärtsschau. Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 2 (1966) 197–211; H. Thier: *Das Pantheon zu Ephesus. Aspekte zur Frage der Christianisierung des Kapitolin*, in: *Archäologisches Jahrbuch* 1964/65, 259–271.

² *Nepenthes* Linn. and *Burh. Nepenthes* strum 27-28

² J.-Ch. Barts, L'ouvrage Pauliet le programme architectural et théâtral de la cathédrale d'Apamee, *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, 1997, 107-115.

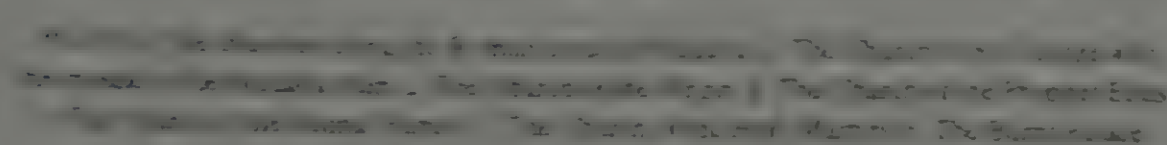
sur *Journal d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Lausanne, 1964, 3; 46.

¹⁰⁴ F. Mironov, La quatrième campagne de fouille à Apamee, *Antiquités Classiques* 4 (1935), 201–202. For a survey of the burials of Apamee see also F. de Selys, 191–192.

This architectural floor plan depicts the Temple of Isis at Philae. The plan shows a complex of buildings with various rooms, courtyards, and a central courtyard. The layout includes a large central hall, several smaller rooms, and a series of columns. The plan is oriented with North at the top. A scale bar at the bottom indicates a distance of 0 to 100 meters. The plan is labeled with 'Temple of Isis' and 'Philae'.

PLAN 49 The Cathedral and the Church of St. Theodor at Novgorod

2. The Church of St. Theodore was built on a plot of land...

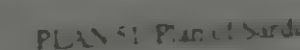
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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system of equations (1) has a solution for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the condition $\alpha + \beta = 1$ is satisfied. This condition is also necessary for the existence of a solution of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β .

1. *La cultura e la lingua sono i due elementi essenziali della personalità di una nazione. La cultura è il frutto della civiltà e della scienza, e la lingua è il mezzo di espressione della cultura. La cultura e la lingua sono i due pilastri della civiltà e della scienza, e la lingua è il mezzo di espressione della cultura.*

ven centres of the cities thus making it clear that in the 19th century the Church was firmly established in urban centres. During the sixth century, the Church appropriated the architectural forms of the cities and gradually related to the history and culture of inbuilt urban life. Development in the West followed a common path. For example, in Rome, churches were built in the forum from the sixth century to the 13th century, the frequent creeds by deans and curators, monuments were found in private construction and ecclesiastical buildings. The implantation of churches in pre-existing urban places was not a new phenomenon. In the middle of the 19th century, during the period, churches were inserted into urban form, by demolishing the eastern walls of streets and buildings. In peripheral areas of the cities, the trend appeared earlier. For example, in the 19th century, in the 19th century, the cathedral expanded in a wide, leaving the southern gate with the construction of a gateway with an entrance over the gate. In order to build the gate, people had to bypass the market. However, the construction of the cathedral, the central gate was not started in disintegration, respected earlier city blocks.

Churches were also scattered in different sections of the cities, thereby involving two or three parishes centred on a single church. During the reign of Constantine, a new parish of the new Christian centre of Strid (Stridra) was established. During the reign of Constantine, a new Christian centre was developed around Church EA between the river Plati and the city wall, the new west part of the city, Plan S. In the past, there had been with a water tank and a mosque in the



20. H.G. Schmitt: Aspekte der Problemlösung der Kinder in unterschiedlichen Kulturen

... A ... A ...

20. What is the purpose of the study? To find out what does the best way to learn is.

P. T.

En el caso de la familia de la señora María, la madre es la responsable de la crianza de los hijos, ya que el padre trabaja en el extranjero y no puede estar presente en el hogar. La madre es la que se encarga de la alimentación, la higiene y la educación de los hijos, así como de la gestión de los recursos económicos de la familia. La familia de la señora María es un ejemplo de una familia nuclear, ya que está formada por la madre y los hijos, sin la presencia del padre.

De la Hoz et al. *Monoclonal antibodies* 2012

Thebes (Nea Anchiabae) nine basilical churches are known, four *intra muros* and five *extra muros*. At Argos six are recorded, and at Stoby three *intra muros* and three *extra muros*.^{226d} In Salona nine churches and two oratoria in the Roman amphitheatre are known (Plan XVI). In Kastra of the Danubian *limes* the number of churches was obviously smaller, but there were exceptions. In Novae in the lower Danube five churches are recorded.^{226e} Churches in the cities of the East are more numerous. In Madaba alone over ten churches are known, from Gerasa nineteen, and from Caesarea at least ten.^{226f} In smaller towns in the East, too, the churches multiplied, an increase that may be linked to other commercial and social changes in the area. In the Trans-Jordan area, changing trade routes and the sedentarization of Arab *foederati* were the main reasons for the development of the area.²²⁷ Umm el-Jimal in Jordan had fifteen churches, most of them chapels, whilst only one is dated (a. 556), the so-called Cathedral, so named because of its central position (Plan 54). The town of Rahab, 26 km east of Gerasa, had ten churches dating from 533-635.²²⁸ Khirbat al-Samra, located between Bostra and Philadelphia, a large village (200x200 m) on the road Via Nova Traiana, connecting the port of Aila on the Red Sea with Bostra, had eight churches, all built between 550-650 (Plan 55).²²⁹ Umm al-Rasas (Kastron Mefaa) had three ecclesiastical complexes and perhaps a fourth to the southwest, presumably because it was a religious centre for the Arab *foederati*. The largest complex, that of St. Stephanus, had four churches with annexes all enclosed within a wall (Plan 56).^{227g} The most important churches, containing mosaic pavement, are the Church of Bishop Sergius, which possesses an adjoining baptistery, and the Church of St. Stephanus. A similar pattern is observed in some cities in Asia Minor. For example, the number of churches in Nyssa in central-western Asia Minor, which there were three (Plan 57).²³⁰ On the other hand, papyri offer figures that may be misleadingly inflated, in Ptolemais Evergetis fourteen churches and ten monasteries are recorded, in Oxyrhynchus forty-three churches, in Aphrodito and its territory over twenty-five churches and thirty-three monasteries are mentioned and in Hermopolis thirty-nine churches and forty-two monasteries. It is true that the papyri record churches that may not have existed simultaneously, thus producing a misleading impression. Nevertheless, the papyri, with their large figures, create a truer picture of the situation than the necessarily patchy archaeological record.^{227c}

Private churches

Private churches were more numerous by far than parish churches built on the initiative of the bishop and under his supervision. Sources tell us that such private churches were built everywhere on country estates and in cities. Construction of churches was an expression of piety. They were also indicative of the shift in emphasis from public to private life, which marks the transition to medieval Byzantium. Christian Fathers repeatedly urge Christians to avoid public places and stay home in the

²⁰ Karagiorgou, Demetrios and Thebes 187-191, 173-174; Abadie-Reynal, Argos, 399; Mikulík, *Stobi* 143.

10. A. D. Paltov, 'Novoe o the Lower Danube as an Early Christian Centre', 4 (*AC* XII, 1991), II, 70-704.

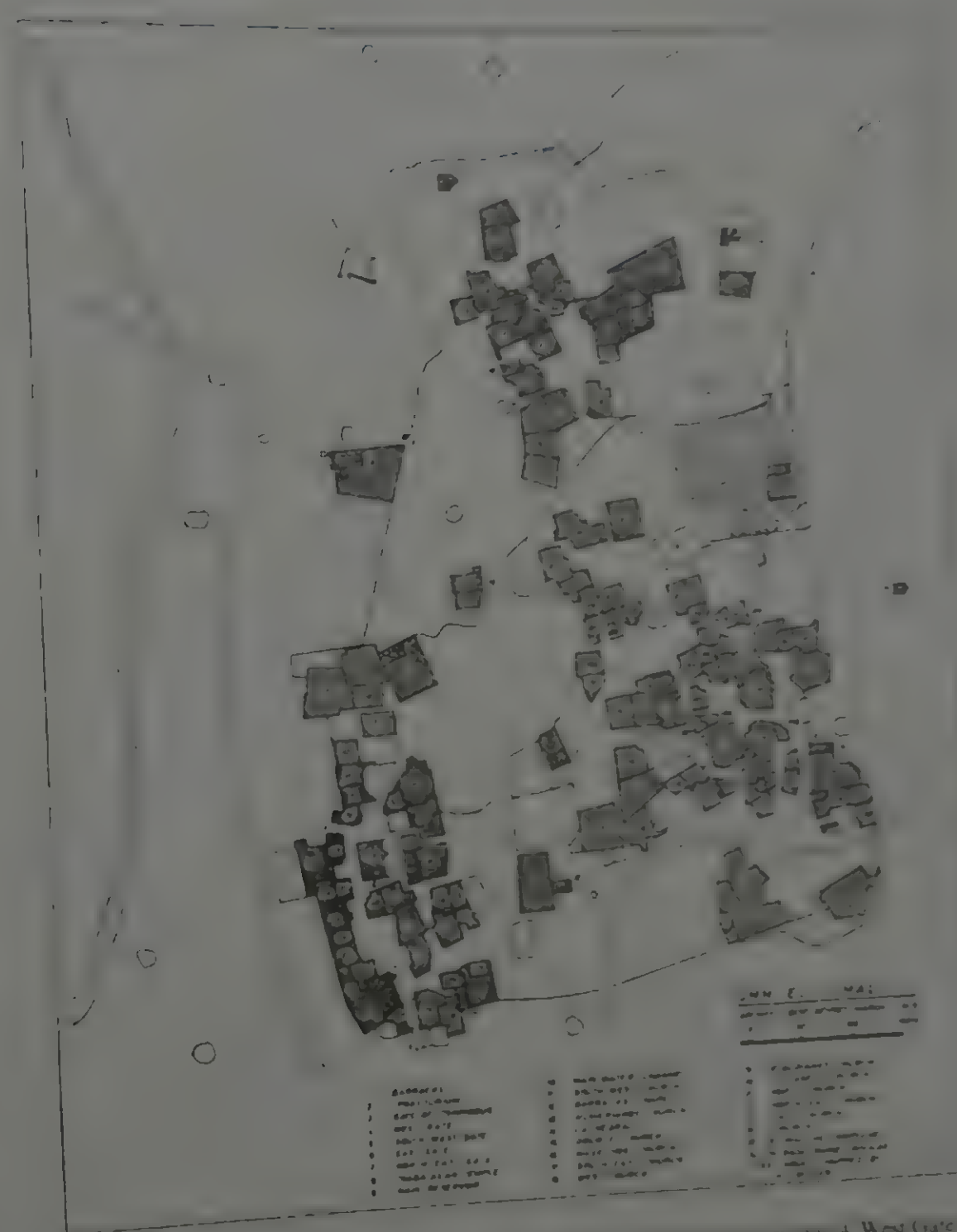
¹⁰⁰ Hodgson, *The Origins of the 19th Century*, 151-164.

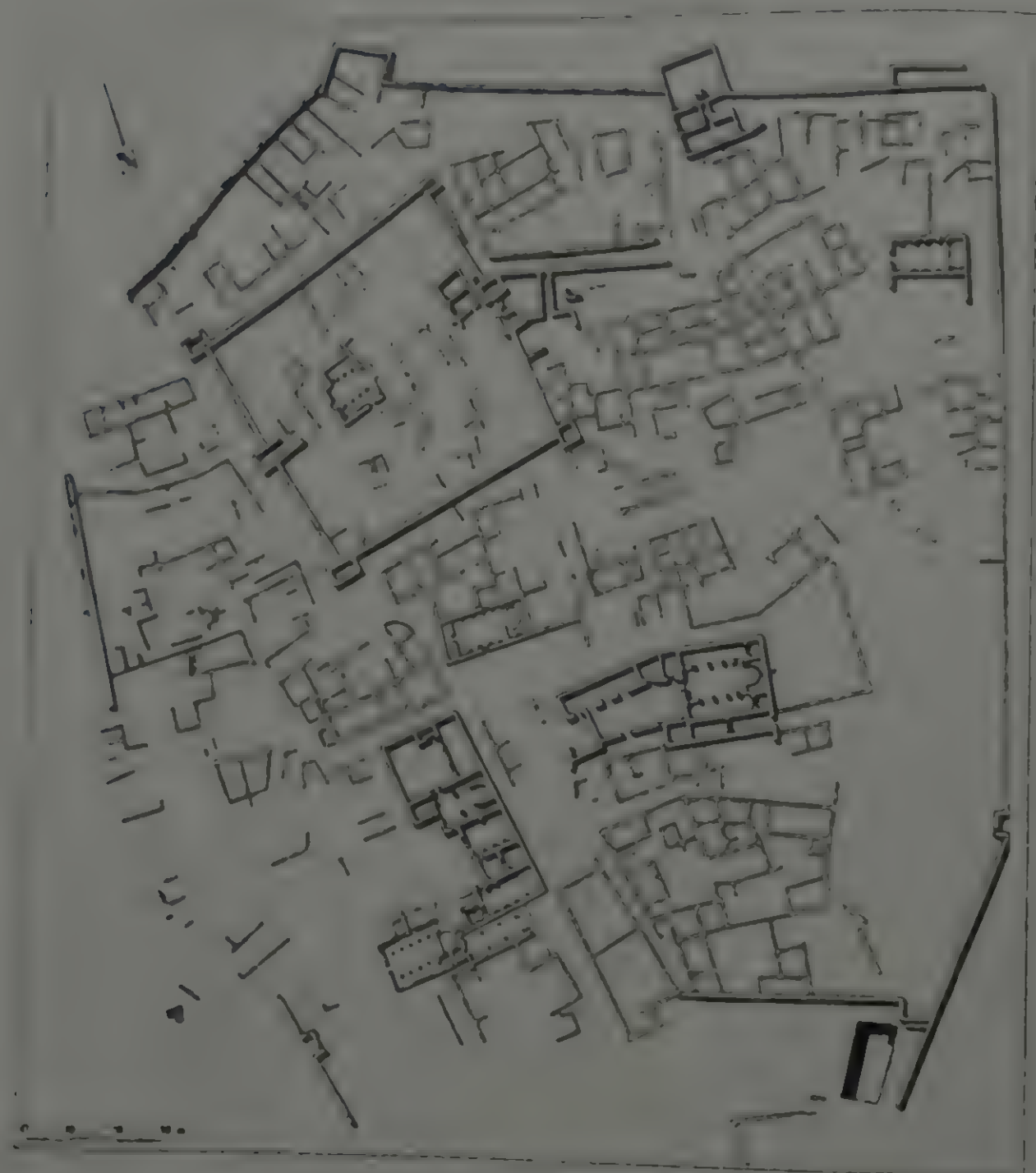
⁶⁶ *Prætorius* (note 54 est) *Mem. Misauis*, III: 323.

¹ Pour les autres sites de la région, voir : P. BOUTIER, « Les églises paroissiales chrétiennes d'Urmia et Rasas (Jordanie) (Cinq campagnes de fouilles 1967-1970) », *Bull. Archéol.*, 1980, p. 103-111.

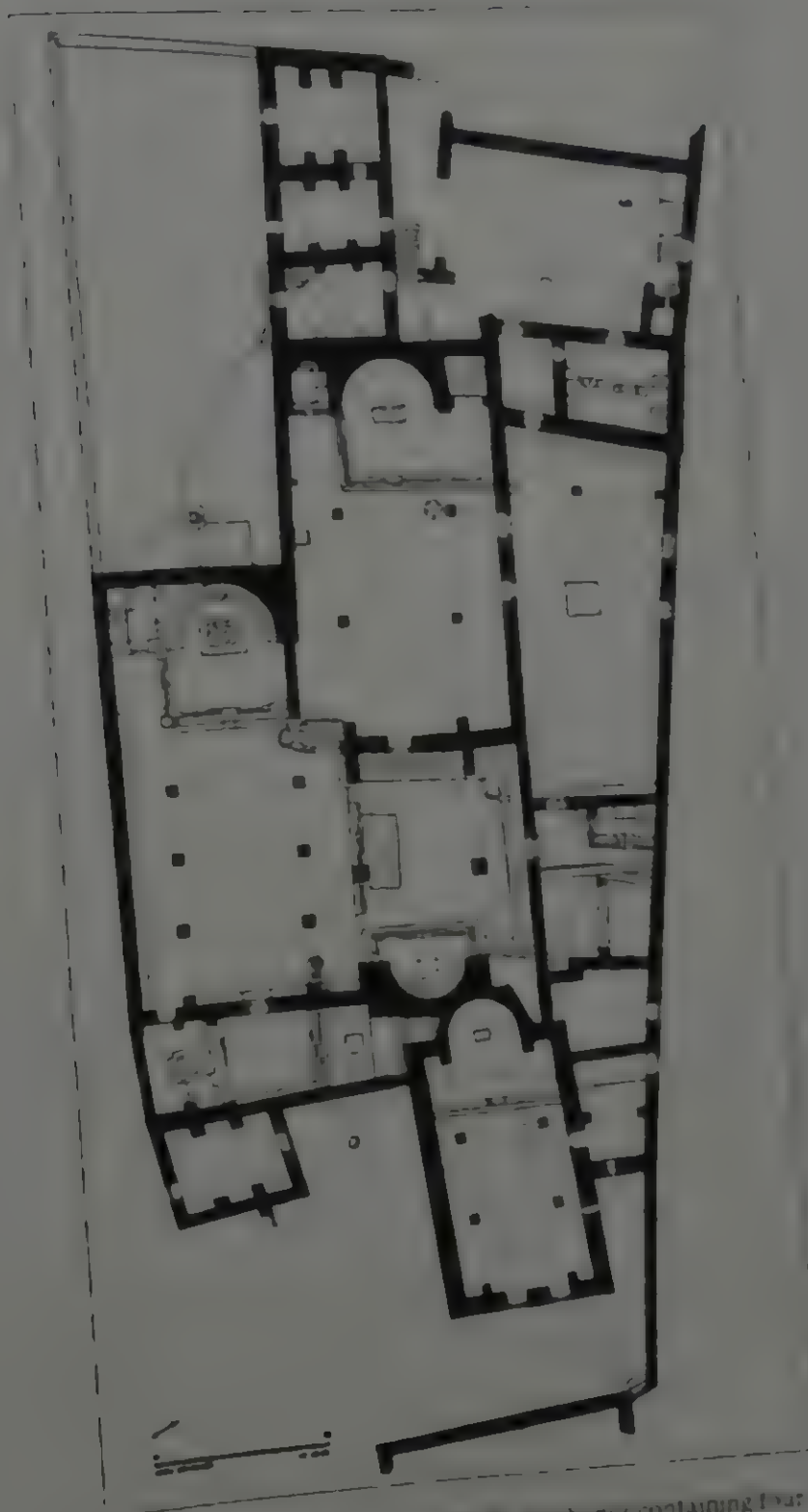
Fr. Kott: Bericht über Feldforschungen in Keene und Umgebung im Sommer 1990, *ASV* 9 (1991), 21-35

² Alberton, *The City*, 200. See also Waples, *La Léménachome égyptien et les villes*, *JW* 12 (1961) 1-44.

[illegible]



PLAN 55 Plan of Khirbat al-Namra located between Hama and Philadelphia with eight churches.



PLAN 56 Plan of the complex of St. Stephanus containing four churches at Umm al-Rawas.

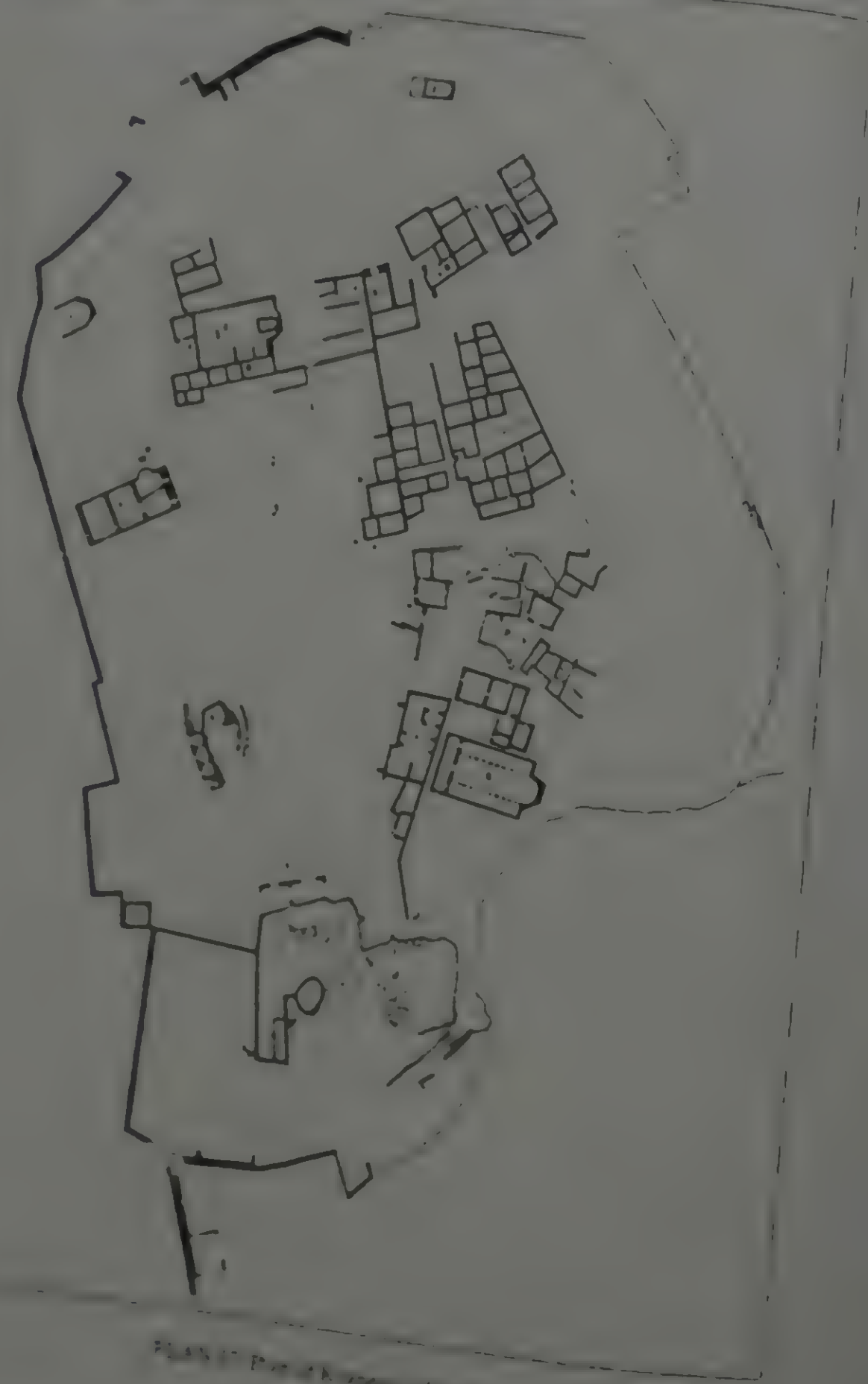


FIG. 17. Plan of Eukleria.

tranquility of the family environment. For the Christian, houses resembled sanctuaries. Sozomenus of Antioch advised his flock to avoid the noise of public places, to stay home and live there as in a sanctuary of philosophy, keeping themselves busy with domestic work and focusing on their spiritual life. In the fourth century, the Church Fathers strongly encouraged the creation of private churches on family estates to serve the religious needs of the landlords' Christian peasants and to aid the conversion of pagans. The chapel described by Gregory of Nyssa built immediately in front of a villa at Cappadocia is one of many such examples.²²⁷ In the sixth century, private churches multiplied throughout the countryside and are mentioned in the *Lives* of saints. Hagiographical sources also mention private chapels in urban dwellings.²²⁸ St. Martha maintained her privacy (*hōiō* 'ἐνὶ οἴκῳ') even during the Sunday liturgy.²²⁹ The need for privacy during prayer was satisfied by the construction of *eukleria*, chapels, even in episcopal residences for the celebration of the liturgy in solitude during weekdays.²³⁰ The various chapels, whose plan suggests they were Justinianic, attached to the church of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai may have been employed for the celebration of the liturgy on weekdays. Chapels attached to larger churches were also used for other purposes. Many had funerary function, being either intended for the burial of privileged Christians or to serve as martyria.²³¹ Justinianic legislation legitimized the Church's authority over private churches and *eukleria*, recognizing the need for private order for prayer, while maintaining principles of Roman law establishing the incompatibility of sacred sites with private ownership.²³² Sixth-century papyri mention private churches and other religious foundations in cities and in estates, thereby throwing light on the regulations and function of private foundations, the rights of founders, details of administration and the endowment and management practices of the founders.²³³

Usually, texts distinguish between private churches and *eukleria* on the one hand and episcopal churches and other patriarchal churches or *kathedra ekklēsia* on the other. The small size of some excavated *eukleria* suggests that they were private. The distinction between a private chapel and a large church is occasionally designated in inscriptions as *ekklēsia* and *hōiō* (private chapel) and are identified by the same term.²³⁴ Written sources inform us that private churches were often built next to the founder's dwelling or that the entire residence was transformed by the addition of an apse into a church, or that a chapel was occasionally included in a large residence.²³⁵ The distinction of possible chapels in large residential complexes is not clear, since chapels, in contrast to episcopal churches, are not so easily distinguished from triforia.

The proliferation of private churches, mostly in which often escaped the bishop's control, troubled the Church. The celebration of the liturgy in private houses became a growing concern, and the Council of Chalcedon set out the principles for regulating private churches. By placing them under the jurisdiction of

²²⁷ St. Basil, *PG 31*, 124A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. Basil: The Letters*, 1963, 124A.

²²⁸ Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.3, 1.1.4, 1.1.5, 1.1.6, 1.1.7, 1.1.8, 1.1.9, 1.1.10, 1.1.11, 1.1.12, 1.1.13, 1.1.14, 1.1.15, 1.1.16, 1.1.17, 1.1.18, 1.1.19, 1.1.20, 1.1.21, 1.1.22, 1.1.23, 1.1.24, 1.1.25, 1.1.26, 1.1.27, 1.1.28, 1.1.29, 1.1.30, 1.1.31, 1.1.32, 1.1.33, 1.1.34, 1.1.35, 1.1.36, 1.1.37, 1.1.38, 1.1.39, 1.1.40, 1.1.41, 1.1.42, 1.1.43, 1.1.44, 1.1.45, 1.1.46, 1.1.47, 1.1.48, 1.1.49, 1.1.50, 1.1.51, 1.1.52, 1.1.53, 1.1.54, 1.1.55, 1.1.56, 1.1.57, 1.1.58, 1.1.59, 1.1.60, 1.1.61, 1.1.62, 1.1.63, 1.1.64, 1.1.65, 1.1.66, 1.1.67, 1.1.68, 1.1.69, 1.1.70, 1.1.71, 1.1.72, 1.1.73, 1.1.74, 1.1.75, 1.1.76, 1.1.77, 1.1.78, 1.1.79, 1.1.80, 1.1.81, 1.1.82, 1.1.83, 1.1.84, 1.1.85, 1.1.86, 1.1.87, 1.1.88, 1.1.89, 1.1.90, 1.1.91, 1.1.92, 1.1.93, 1.1.94, 1.1.95, 1.1.96, 1.1.97, 1.1.98, 1.1.99, 1.1.100, 1.1.101, 1.1.102, 1.1.103, 1.1.104, 1.1.105, 1.1.106, 1.1.107, 1.1.108, 1.1.109, 1.1.110, 1.1.111, 1.1.112, 1.1.113, 1.1.114, 1.1.115, 1.1.116, 1.1.117, 1.1.118, 1.1.119, 1.1.120, 1.1.121, 1.1.122, 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1.1.789, 1.1.790, 1.1.791, 1.1.792, 1.1.793, 1.1.794, 1.1.795, 1.1.796, 1.1.797, 1.1.798, 1.1.799, 1.1.800, 1.1.801, 1.1.802, 1.1.803, 1.1.804, 1.1.805, 1.1.806, 1.1.807, 1.1.808, 1.1.809, 1.1.810, 1.1.811, 1.1.812, 1.1.813, 1.1.814, 1.1.815, 1.1.816, 1.1.817, 1.1.818, 1.1.819, 1.1.820, 1.1.821, 1.1.822, 1.1.823, 1.1.824, 1.1.825, 1.1.826, 1.1.827, 1.1.828, 1.1.829, 1.1.830, 1.1.831, 1.1.832, 1.1.833, 1.1.834, 1.1.835, 1.1.836, 1.1.837, 1.1.838, 1.1.839, 1.1.840, 1.1.841, 1.1.842, 1.1.843, 1.1.844, 1.1.845, 1.1.846, 1.1.847, 1.1.848, 1.1.849, 1.1.850, 1.1.851, 1.1.852, 1.1.853, 1.1.854, 1.1.855, 1.1.856, 1.1.857, 1.1.858, 1.1.859, 1.1.860, 1.1.861, 1.1.862, 1.1.863, 1.1.864, 1.1.865, 1.1.866, 1.1.867, 1.1.868, 1.1.869, 1.1.870, 1.1.871, 1.1.872, 1.1.873, 1.1.874, 1.1.875, 1.1.876, 1.1.877, 1.1.878, 1.1.879, 1.1.880, 1.1.881, 1.1.882, 1.1.883, 1.1.884, 1.1.885, 1.1.886, 1.1.887, 1.1.888, 1.1.889, 1.1.890, 1.1.891, 1.1.892, 1.1.893, 1.1.894, 1.1.895, 1.1.896, 1.1.897, 1.1.898, 1.1.899, 1.1.900, 1.1.901, 1.1.902, 1.1.903, 1.1.904, 1.1.905, 1.1.906, 1.1.907, 1.1.908, 1.1.909, 1.1.910, 1.1.911, 1.1.912, 1.1.913, 1.1.914, 1.1.915, 1.1.916, 1.1.917, 1.1.918, 1.1.919, 1.1.920, 1.1.921, 1.1.922, 1.1.923, 1.1.924, 1.1.925, 1.1.926, 1.1.927, 1.1.928, 1.1.929, 1.1.930, 1.1.931, 1.1.932, 1.1.933, 1.1.934, 1.1.935, 1.1.936, 1.1.937, 1.1.938, 1.1.939, 1.1.940, 1.1.941, 1.1.942, 1.1.943, 1.1.944, 1.1.945, 1.1.946, 1.1.947, 1.1.948, 1.1.949, 1.1.950, 1.1.951, 1.1.952, 1.1.953, 1.1.954, 1.1.955, 1.1.956, 1.1.957, 1.1.958, 1.1.959, 1.1.960, 1.1.961, 1.1.962, 1.1.963, 1.1.964, 1.1.965, 1.1.966, 1.1.967, 1.1.968, 1.1.969, 1.1.970, 1.1.971, 1.1.972, 1.1.973, 1.1.974, 1.1.975, 1.1.976, 1.1.977, 1.1.978, 1.1.979, 1.1.980, 1.1.981, 1.1.982, 1.1.983, 1.1.984, 1.1.985, 1.1.986, 1.1.987, 1.1.988, 1.1.989, 1.1.990, 1.1.991, 1.1.992, 1.1.993, 1.1.994, 1.1.995, 1.1.996, 1.1.997, 1.1.998, 1.1.999, 1.1.1000.

²²⁹ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³⁰ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³¹ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³² John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³³ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³⁴ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³⁵ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³⁶ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³⁷ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

²³⁸ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

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²⁴³ John Chrysostom, *PG 49*, 100A, ed. G. G. Scott, *St. John Chrysostom: The Letters*, 1963, 100A.

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²⁵⁰ John Chrys

Christian munificence

In the course of the early Byzantine period, the official Church increasingly stressed secular concerns and worldly rewards for the founders of churches and ecclesiastical institutions. Severus explains that *gongoroi* (sons) attended churches in order to pray. They presented the saints with their requests and

²²⁶ John Chrysostom, *PG*, 60: 146-148.

Bishops, above all, were involved in the construction of churches and cathedrals. They personally coordinated funding efforts for the construction and decoration of churches and supervised the works. Inscriptions commemorating their involvement in such works were usually placed in the most prominent position in churches, while those commemorating secular benefactors

12. *Novella* 67, proxem and 2. C/1348 P1



FIGURE 1. The Church of St. John and Pegasus, built by Justinian, showing the triumphal arch of the emperor's couple.

Amor.¹⁰⁰ Justinian wished to monopolize the construction of churches, as is implied in a statement of Procopius that "it was not possible, during the reign of this Emperor, for any church either to be built [in the East] or to be repaired when it had fallen into disrepair, except with imperial funds; not alone in Constantinople, but in every part of the Roman empire."¹⁰¹ In reality, Novati¹⁰² indicates that private individuals continued to display their munificence through church construction. Overall, however, the

¹⁰⁰ Procopius, *The Buildings of Justinian*, IV, 11, 1-2, 4-5, 10-11, 20-21, 24-25, 27-28, 30-31, 33-34, 36-37, 39-40, 42-43, 45-46, 48-49, 51-52, 54-55, 57-58, 60-61, 63-64, 66-67, 69-70, 72-73, 75-76, 78-79, 81-82, 84-85, 87-88, 90-91, 93-94, 96-97, 99-100, 102-103, 105-106, 108-109, 111-112, 114-115, 117-118, 120-121, 123-124, 126-127, 129-130, 132-133, 135-136, 138-139, 141-142, 144-145, 147-148, 150-151, 153-154, 156-157, 159-160, 162-163, 165-166, 168-169, 171-172, 174-175, 177-178, 180-181, 183-184, 186-187, 189-190, 192-193, 195-196, 198-199, 201-202, 204-205, 207-208, 210-211, 213-214, 216-217, 219-220, 222-223, 225-226, 228-229, 231-232, 234-235, 237-238, 240-241, 243-244, 246-247, 249-250, 252-253, 255-256, 258-259, 261-262, 264-265, 267-268, 270-271, 273-274, 276-277, 279-280, 282-283, 285-286, 288-289, 291-292, 294-295, 297-298, 300-301, 303-304, 306-307, 309-310, 312-313, 315-316, 318-319, 321-322, 324-325, 327-328, 330-331, 333-334, 336-337, 339-340, 342-343, 345-346, 348-349, 351-352, 354-355, 357-358, 360-361, 363-364, 366-367, 369-370, 372-373, 375-376, 378-379, 381-382, 384-385, 387-388, 390-391, 393-394, 396-397, 399-400, 402-403, 405-406, 408-409, 411-412, 414-415, 417-418, 420-421, 423-424, 426-427, 429-430, 432-433, 435-436, 438-439, 441-442, 444-445, 447-448, 450-451, 453-454, 456-457, 459-460, 462-463, 465-466, 468-469, 471-472, 474-475, 477-478, 480-481, 483-484, 486-487, 489-490, 492-493, 495-496, 498-499, 501-502, 504-505, 507-508, 510-511, 513-514, 516-517, 519-520, 522-523, 525-526, 528-529, 531-532, 534-535, 537-538, 540-541, 543-544, 546-547, 549-550, 552-553, 555-556, 558-559, 561-562, 564-565, 567-568, 570-571, 573-574, 576-577, 579-580, 582-583, 585-586, 588-589, 591-592, 594-595, 597-598, 600-601, 603-604, 606-607, 609-610, 612-613, 615-616, 618-619, 621-622, 624-625, 627-628, 630-631, 633-634, 636-637, 639-640, 642-643, 645-646, 648-649, 651-652, 654-655, 657-658, 660-661, 663-664, 666-667, 669-670, 672-673, 675-676, 678-679, 681-682, 684-685, 687-688, 690-691, 693-694, 696-697, 699-700, 702-703, 705-706, 708-709, 711-712, 714-715, 717-718, 720-721, 723-724, 726-727, 729-730, 732-733, 735-736, 738-739, 741-742, 744-745, 747-748, 750-751, 753-754, 756-757, 759-760, 762-763, 765-766, 768-769, 771-772, 774-775, 777-778, 780-781, 783-784, 786-787, 789-790, 792-793, 795-796, 798-799, 801-802, 804-805, 807-808, 810-811, 813-814, 816-817, 819-820, 822-823, 825-826, 828-829, 831-832, 834-835, 837-838, 840-841, 843-844, 846-847, 849-850, 852-853, 855-856, 858-859, 861-862, 864-865, 867-868, 870-871, 873-874, 876-877, 879-880, 882-883, 885-886, 888-889, 891-892, 894-895, 897-898, 900-901, 903-904, 906-907, 909-910, 912-913, 915-916, 918-919, 921-922, 924-925, 927-928, 930-931, 933-934, 936-937, 939-940, 942-943, 945-946, 948-949, 951-952, 954-955, 957-958, 960-961, 963-964, 966-967, 969-970, 972-973, 975-976, 978-979, 981-982, 984-985, 987-988, 990-991, 993-994, 996-997, 999-1000.

¹⁰¹ Procopius, *The Buildings of Justinian*, IV, 11, 1-2, 4-5, 10-11, 20-21, 24-25, 27-28, 30-31, 33-34, 36-37, 39-40, 42-43, 45-46, 48-49, 51-52, 54-55, 57-58, 60-61, 63-64, 66-67, 69-70, 72-73, 75-76, 78-79, 81-82, 84-85, 87-88, 90-91, 93-94, 96-97, 99-100, 102-103, 105-106, 108-109, 111-112, 114-115, 117-118, 120-121, 123-124, 126-127, 129-130, 132-133, 135-136, 138-139, 141-142, 144-145, 147-148, 150-151, 153-154, 156-157, 159-160, 162-163, 165-166, 168-169, 171-172, 174-175, 177-178, 180-181, 183-184, 186-187, 189-190, 192-193, 195-196, 198-199, 201-202, 204-205, 207-208, 210-211, 213-214, 216-217, 219-220, 222-223, 225-226, 228-229, 231-232, 234-235, 237-238, 240-241, 243-244, 246-247, 249-250, 252-253, 255-256, 258-259, 261-262, 264-265, 267-268, 270-271, 273-274, 276-277, 279-280, 282-283, 285-286, 288-289, 291-292, 294-295, 297-298, 300-301, 303-304, 306-307, 309-310, 312-313, 315-316, 318-319, 321-322, 324-325, 327-328, 330-331, 333-334, 336-337, 339-340, 342-343, 345-346, 348-349, 351-352, 354-355, 357-358, 360-361, 363-364, 366-367, 369-370, 372-373, 375-376, 378-379, 381-382, 384-385, 387-388, 390-391, 393-394, 396-397, 399-400, 402-403, 405-406, 408-409, 411-412, 414-415, 417-418, 420-421, 423-424, 426-427, 429-430, 432-433, 435-436, 438-439, 441-442, 444-445, 447-448, 450-451, 453-454, 456-457, 459-460, 462-463, 465-466, 468-469, 471-472, 474-475, 477-478, 480-481, 483-484, 486-487, 489-490, 492-493, 495-496, 498-499, 501-502, 504-505, 507-508, 510-511, 513-514, 516-517, 519-520, 522-523, 525-526, 528-529, 531-532, 534-535, 537-538, 540-541, 543-544, 546-547, 549-550, 552-553, 555-556, 558-559, 561-562, 564-565, 567-568, 570-571, 573-574, 576-577, 579-580, 582-583, 585-586, 588-589, 591-592, 594-595, 597-598, 600-601, 603-604, 606-607, 609-610, 612-613, 615-616, 618-619, 621-622, 624-625, 627-628, 630-631, 633-634, 636-637, 639-640, 642-643, 645-646, 648-649, 651-652, 654-655, 657-658, 660-661, 663-664, 666-667, 669-670, 672-673, 675-676, 678-679, 681-682, 684-685, 687-688, 690-691, 693-694, 696-697, 699-700, 702-703, 705-706, 708-709, 711-712, 714-715, 717-718, 720-721, 723-724, 726-727, 729-730, 732-733, 735-736, 738-739, 741-742, 744-745, 747-748, 750-751, 753-754, 756-757, 759-760, 762-763, 765-766, 768-769, 771-772, 774-775, 777-778, 780-781, 783-784, 786-787, 789-790, 792-793, 795-796, 798-799, 801-802, 804-805, 807-808, 810-811, 813-814, 816-817, 819-820, 822-823, 825-826, 828-829, 831-832, 834-835, 837-838, 840-841, 843-844, 846-847, 849-850, 852-853, 855-856, 858-859, 861-862, 864-865, 867-868, 870-871, 873-874, 876-877, 879-880, 882-883, 885-886, 888-889, 891-892, 894-895, 897-898, 900-901, 903-904, 906-907, 909-910, 912-913, 915-916, 918-919, 921-922, 924-925, 927-928, 930-931, 933-934, 936-937, 939-940, 942-943, 945-946, 948-949, 951-952, 954-955, 957-958, 960-961, 963-964, 966-967, 969-970, 972-973, 975-976, 978-979, 981-982, 984-985, 987-988, 990-991, 993-994, 996-997, 999-1000.

exclusive points to an increasing concentration of imperial patronage and in works of imperial patronage.

The most famous private church built in the fifth century was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was built by the emperor Justinian in the year 461. The church was built on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, which was the site of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus Christ. The church was built by Justinian in the year 461, and it was the first church to be built on the site of the Holy Sepulchre. The church was built by Justinian in the year 461, and it was the first church to be built on the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

Following by her good works all the footsteps she made the fame of her three husbands, and was walking in the same path as they. The same day she was the first of the Holy Sepulchre, and she was the first of the Holy Sepulchre. The same day she was the first of the Holy Sepulchre, and she was the first of the Holy Sepulchre.

If you wish to see the first of the Holy Sepulchre, you must go to the Holy Sepulchre. The first of the Holy Sepulchre is the first of the Holy Sepulchre. The first of the Holy Sepulchre is the first of the Holy Sepulchre.

Next to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, there is a church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Worldly glory, which the first seen benefactor could expect to gain by erecting churches, was a recognized motivation for Christian munificence in the sixth century. The emphasis on the construction of the Church of St. Peter in the Vatican by Justinian is a case in point. In the Vatican manuscript of the *Chronicon*, the emperor's name is mentioned in connection with the construction of the church. The emperor's name is mentioned in connection with the construction of the church. The emperor's name is mentioned in connection with the construction of the church.

See also: *The Buildings of Justinian*, IV, 11, 1-2, 4-5, 10-11, 20-21, 24-25, 27-28, 30-31, 33-34, 36-37, 39-40, 42-43, 45-46, 48-49, 51-52, 54-55, 57-58, 60-61, 63-64, 66-67, 69-70, 72-73, 75-76, 78-79, 81-82, 84-85, 87-88, 90-91, 93-94, 96-97, 99-100, 102-103, 105-106, 108-109, 111-112, 114-115, 117-118, 120-121, 123-124, 126-127, 129-130, 132-133, 135-136, 138-139, 141-142, 144-145, 147-148, 150-151, 153-154, 156-157, 159-160, 162-163, 165-166, 168-169, 171-172, 174-175, 177-178, 180-181, 183-184, 186-187, 189-190, 192-193, 195-196, 198-199, 201-202, 204-205, 207-208, 210-211, 213-214, 216-217, 219-220, 222-223, 225-226, 228-229, 231-232, 234-235, 237-238, 240-241, 243-244, 246-247, 249-250, 252-253, 255-256, 258-259, 261-262, 264-265, 267-268, 270-271, 273-274, 276-277, 279-280, 282-283, 285-286, 288-289, 291-292, 294-295, 297-298, 300-301, 303-304, 306-307, 309-310, 312-313, 315-316, 318-319, 321-322, 324-325, 327-328, 330-331, 333-334, 336-337, 339-340, 342-343, 345-346, 348-349, 351-352, 354-355, 357-358, 360-361, 363-364, 366-367, 369-370, 372-373, 375-376, 378-379, 381-382, 384-385, 387-388, 390-391, 393-394, 396-397, 399-400, 402-403, 405-406, 408-409, 411-412, 414-415, 417-418, 420-421, 423-424, 426-427, 429-430, 432-433, 435-436, 438-439, 441-442, 444-445, 447-448, 450-451, 453-454, 456-457, 459-460, 462-463, 465-466, 468-469, 471-472, 474-475, 477-478, 480-481, 483-484, 486-487, 489-490, 492-493, 495-496, 498-499, 501-502, 504-505, 507-508, 510-511, 513-514, 516-517, 519-520, 522-523, 525-526, 528-529, 531-532, 534-535, 537-538, 540-541, 543-544, 546-547, 549-550, 552-553, 555-556, 558-559, 561-562, 564-565, 567-568, 570-571, 573-574, 576-577, 579-580, 582-583, 585-586, 588-589, 591-592, 594-595, 597-598, 600-601, 603-604, 606-607, 609-610, 612-613, 615-616, 618-619, 621-622, 624-625, 627-628, 630-631, 633-634, 636-637, 639-640, 642-643, 645-646, 648-649, 651-652, 654-655, 657-658, 660-661, 663-664, 666-667, 669-670, 672-673, 675-676, 678-679, 681-682, 684-685, 687-688, 690-691, 693-694, 696-697, 699-700, 702-703, 705-706, 708-709, 711-712, 714-715, 717-718, 720-721, 723-724, 726-727, 729-730, 732-733, 735-736, 738-739, 741-742, 744-745, 747-748, 750-751, 753-754, 756-757, 759-760, 762-763, 765-766, 768-769, 771-772, 774-775, 777-778, 780-781, 783-784, 786-787, 789-790, 792-793, 795-796, 798-799, 801-802, 804-805, 807-808, 810-811, 813-814, 816-817, 819-820, 822-823, 825-826, 828-829, 831-832, 834-835, 837-838, 840-841, 843-844, 846-847, 849-850, 852-853, 855-856, 858-859, 861-862, 864-865, 867-868, 870-871, 873-874, 876-877, 879-880, 882-883, 885-886, 888-889, 891-892, 894-895, 897-898, 900-901, 903-904, 906-907, 909-910, 912-913, 915-916, 918-919, 921-922, 924-925, 927-928, 930-931, 933-934, 936-937, 939-940, 942-943, 945-946, 948-949, 951-952, 954-955, 957-958, 960-961, 963-964, 966-967, 969-970, 972-973, 975-976, 978-979, 981-982, 984-985, 987-988, 990-991, 993-994, 996-997, 999-1000.

Other programs commemorating donations of wartime donors, how that initiative, "what ceremony," institutional presence, and influence. "In some, there is a central that the research, change, the impact, needed to have a long-term spiritual benefit, the hope that world, need will be answered through [the] work of the church, and the institution, all nations, families from earlier texts.

Homosexuality in *King of Korea*, Ch'oe, with his works. In addition, from this point on, attempts to Prince and Paek to be going home to the Korean continent, and other theatrical plays of the *King of Korea*. Here, a parallel for the novel and for the novel, I do even go with the book, covered by its prayers, include psychology of the beauty and splendour of the beauty.

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Most of the inscriptions from the sixth century commemorating donations to churches present Christian benefactors in Jewish terms, and in many ways they contrast with ancient civic epigraphy.¹ They also show an evolution from the fourth to the sixth century in the vocabulary expressing the benefactor's attitudes. An important change is the absence in the sixth century of the term *gloriarum* which had been used to mark out the benefactor, so that in the Byzantine inscriptions it simply indicates a benefactor. Some inscriptions mention benefactors of sin (e.g. *peccator*), *peccatrix*, *peccatorum*, *peccatrix* and *peccatorum* and of those who support the material and spiritual education (e.g. *pauperum*, *pauperum*, *pauperum*, *pauperum*) of benefactors and their deceased parents (e.g. *pauperum*, *pauperum*).² Another formulation is *pauperum* and *pauperum* of the *pauperum*. Most of the formulas presenting such ideas draw on Jewish scriptural texts. Thus, the Jewish benefactors' tradition. But the most striking difference from ancient epigraphy is that Jewish Christian donors in the sixth century wished to remain anonymous, probably because it was believed that their names were already written in the Book of Life. The formulation is

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land and were more numerous than those allocated to city institutions.¹⁰ Anonymous benefactors who in the past were commemorated in statuary in public places such as fountains, markets and halls were now commemorated in churches.¹¹ They are represented together

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Other epigrams commemorating donations of wealthy donors show that intense secular concerns motivated donors to the magnificence.¹⁰ In some of them it is stated that the donors were motivated by

Honouring the King of Kings: Christ, with his works. Justinian built this glorious temple to Peter and Paul, for by giving honour to His servants a man offereth great glory to the King Himself. Here is profit for the soul and for the eyes. Let each get what he hath need of by his prayers, and take joy in looking at the beauty and splendour of the house.

Most of the inscriptions in the sixth century commemorating donations to churches present Christian euergetism in predominantly Christian terms, and in many ways they contrast with ancient civic euergetism.²³⁴ They also show an evolution from the fourth to the sixth century in the vocabulary expressing the benefactors' attitudes. A major significant change is to be observed in the use of the term *φιλανθρωπία*, which lost its ancient meaning of love of honour, so that in the Byzantine inscriptions it simply indicates a donation.²³⁵ Some inscriptions mention forgiveness of sins (*ὑπὲρ συνχωρήσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν, ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν, or συνχωρησὸν τὰς ἁμαρτίας*), and salvation (*ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας*) of benefactors and their children, and of their deceased parents (*ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως*).²³⁶ Another formulation is *μνησθῆναι or ὑπὲρ μνήμης, or ποιησὸν Δεός*. Most of the formulas projecting such ideas draw on Jewish concepts rather than on the ancient euergetic tradition. But the most striking difference from ancient euergetism is that many Christian donors in the sixth century wished to remain anonymous, probably because it was believed that their names were anyway written in the Book of Life. The formulation is

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¹⁴ *Classical Antiquity* 13, 16. For this see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, 73 ff.

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²² For the West see J. P. Cuisset, *L'architecture monumentale chrétienne en Italie et ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV-VII^e s.)* (Rome 1993), 451 and passim; Duval, *Lexis Sacrorum*, 342-343.

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¹²² This formula is particularly frequent in inscriptions from Syria and Palestine. K. Weitzmann and I. Ševcenko, *The Moses Cross at Sinai* (*DOP* 17, 1965), 304–305; D. Fouail, *Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne*, *BCH* 100 (1976), 277–281.

formula: "The trend within the Church is to encourage the use of the Mary name, and to discourage the use of the John name, from the end of the sixth century. At the disappearance of family names from funerary inscriptions, the trend by which only the Christian name was used, this trend is imposed on the family name, and the person in question. The assumption is, of course, that the deceased was known by his first name, and that the family name was not used. Individual names, especially the first name, were known by the family, and the family name was not used. The construction of the family name was not the result of the trend, but the result of the trend. The trend was for a specified part of the Church, and the trend was not the result of the trend, but the result of the trend." By the sixth century, the trend was to encourage the use of the Mary name, and to discourage the use of the John name.

By the sixth century, the expression, 'I have done this for the church', which had assumed a purely Christian character since the first century, had become a commonplace expression for the members of the church, who were engaged in the construction of churches, for the benefit of their families; they acknowledge that a wish has been granted and the recognition of gratitude is expressed by financing the construction of churches, salvation of the doctory souls and of the members of their construction or renovation work or burial.²²⁹ A Christian munificence, which is directed with a certain personal interest, is expressed. While the pagan concern was with compensation and appreciation of material rewards for a donation, the Christian's principium was to receive salvation for themselves and their parents, while pagan munificence was usually exclusively personal, the Christians insisted on benefit to the family. Once again it becomes evident that Christianity had shifted people's interests and concerns from secular building, and the temporal glory associated with it, to religious constructions and spiritual rewards after death. Indeed, church construction was increasingly replacing ancient public building. After the reign of Justinian, inscriptions from the provinces of Palestina and Arabia (today's southern Syria, Israel and Jordan), which have provided more inscriptions than any other province, indicate that almost all the construction projects undertaken were ecclesiastical. For secular construction the evidence is either inconclusive or indicates that only restoration work was carried out.²³⁰ Of major importance is the evidence showing that contributions by the Apions were directed to churches in areas where they possessed land and were more numerous than those allocated to city institutions.²³¹

Aristocratic benefactors who in the past were commemorated in statuary in public places, such as porticoes, markets and baths were now commemorated in churches.^{232b} They are represented together

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52 Asemakopoulou-Aizaka, Derives 231-24.

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Churches: the new urban foci

Yonah, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 12 (1972), 105-11. Treasures of the Sixth-Seventh Centuries, in F. Barante (ed.), *Le trésor romain et byzantin. Actes de la Table Ronde, Paris 11-13 octobre 1983* (Paris 1984), 163-184; S. A. Boyd and M. Mundell Mango (eds.), *Ecumenical Silver Plates in Sixth-Century Byzantium. Papers of the Symposium Held May 16-18, 1986 at The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C.* (Washington, D. C. 1992); Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.1.65 estimates the original size of the church of St. Sophia at 46,666 pounds of silver. Friedländer, *Kunstgeschichtliche*, Paul Siliantarius, *Ekphrasis of St. Sophia*, pp. 720-754 states that the altar was of gold with gold columns and a ciborium of silver.

¹⁹ P. Nal, 'Analyse de la section de partie orientale de l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Asie', *ROC* 2 (1997), 482.
²⁰ = *Préface*, I, 53.
²¹ For example I, 53; *Préface*, c. 32 (33 p. 120); *Cont. Eschiraples*, 208 (53 p.); c. 5, *Symeonis solutae*, c. 308 (p. 88).
²² I took as model the village capitulum of the column of the church of St. Symeon, 96 (pp. 74-75). See C. Mango, *Isaurian* (Sunderlin P. W. ed.), *Präsenorium Reichsarchiv Bonn* (Dülmen 1996), 358-365. P.-L. Gatter and F. Vienneau, 'Nouvelles monnaies inscrites de Jordanie', *Syria* 76 (1993), 1-5 (no 1): the villagers provided the salaries of the monogrammed coins.
²³ *Préface*, I, 53; *Cont. Eschiraples*, 208 (53 p.); *Symeonis solutae*, c. 308 (p. 88); *Cont. Eschiraples*, 208 (53 p.).
²⁴ Cf. Dagobert, Constantinople: les sanctuaires et l'organisation de la vie religieuse. *Topographie chrétienne*, ACAC XI (1990), 81-100 (1992, pp. 106-11).
²⁵ J. Bédard, *Le Monastère*, *Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Vienna 1968), no. 11 (p. 61-64): late fifth or sixth century.
²⁶ *Préface*, *Préface*, II, 6; de Vires, Jordan 31 (Bundles: Their location in eastern Late Antiquity, *Bib* 116 (51) (1988), 225.
²⁷ *Préface*, *Préface*, II, 6; de Vires, Jordan 31 (Bundles: Their location in eastern Late Antiquity, *Bib* 116 (51) (1988), 225.

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Storage rooms for agricultural produce and installations for processing agricultural products, such as oil and wine presses, were also operated by the Church. Examples are known from various cities, and although archaeological reports do not always offer precise dating, and some appear to have been established in the period of profound urban crisis during the invasions. Among such finds are storage rooms in the bishop's complex of the Octagon at Philippi and wine presses, a wine press in a room adjoining the atrium of the basilica of Dion outside the walls dating to the middle of the sixth century, wine and olive presses by the wall of Loukoudies to the northwest of the bishop's palace, and large oil and wine presses in the bishop's complex at Salona. Furthermore, in the large Gynnasium of Samos two early Byzantine basilicas were built. One, dating to the reign of Justinian, was part of a large monastic complex with a basilica, atrium, baptistery, a banqueting-hall, a cemetery, and rooms. There were also oil and wine presses, storage rooms containing amphorae for processing grain, and a kiln for the production of lime. Observations of the type of amphorae used for storage suggest that they may have been used to supply the army.²⁸⁰ The famous Huietiri in Salamis-Constantia in Cyprus, close to the basilica of Campanopetra, was a two-storey luxury palace. It became the bishop's administrative centre with an audience hall, a chapel in the basement, and shops on the southern side. An inscription on the northern portion of the court *quoniam latet* refers to the grain tax due. After its abandonment, an oil press was established in the palace. At Perna-Agnos Georgios in Cyprus, an olive press operated in the annexes of Huietiri.²⁸¹ Sometime just south of the temple of Aphrodisia, which had been converted into a church, the building that has been identified with some reservations as the bishop's palace, was later found to be used for the production of wine and olive oil. Numerous pithoi and wine and olive presses have been found. A wine press was also found in use at Kition, west of the atrium of the Church of St. Nicholas, and in the courtyard of the church in the end of the fifth century.²⁸²

In recent studies, attention has been paid to the agricultural activities in which churches and monasteries were involved. The scope of these activities included feeding their own members and those in need through philanthropic institutions and exporting foodstuffs.²⁶⁰ In North African cities in Tunisia and Tripolitania, oil presses appear in the urban centres during the Vandal and Byzantine periods. Only treppes are dated, and they belong to the sixth to seventh centuries. These were attached to churches and were located in various sites of the cities, in the forum, in residential districts and on the city periphery. The Church was clearly the major force in organizing production activities during this period.²⁶¹

The Church was clearly the major force in organizing production activities during the Byzantine period.²⁷⁰ Churches were more than places for prayer and opportunities for business, or centres for the production or distribution of goods. Announcements of interest to the community were also made at them, and from the fifth century imperial decrees were announced to the public in churches. Imperial decrees were inscribed in the churches of the Virgin and of St John in Ephesus,²⁷¹ whilst festivals and celebrations of other joyful public events were organized in churches. Some administrative offices, too, were located in churches or were also held in churches. The governor of Iudaea, Alexander, sat frequently even in the Church of St John the Baptist and St Addai, the Apostles, to judge legal cases free of charge.²⁷² His initiative gave him popular support, since it encouraged the poor and the oppressed to bring their cases to the governor.²⁷³ Indeed, the church was the ideal location from which to establish relations with the governor.²⁷⁴ The church was the ideal location from which to establish relations with the Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver, sat before the church even. We need not imagine, however, that by a pair of men of virtue, and holding the holy Gospels in his hands, he would settle a case, or that those who suffered injustice.²⁷⁵ In periods of crisis, efforts to bring relief to the poor were made by

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

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A Series: The Provision of
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1. Layan Pustaka Tesis/Disertasi UGM
2. Layan Pustaka Tesis/Disertasi UGM
3. Layan Pustaka Tesis/Disertasi UGM

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It has only been about 150 years since it was founded. This is a very short time in the history of the world. Yet in this short time, the United States has achieved many great things. It has become a world power, a leader in science and technology, and a model of democracy.

One of the reasons for this success is the American spirit. The Americans are a people who believe in freedom, equality, and the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This spirit has led them to overcome many difficulties and to achieve many great things. It has led them to build a nation that is the envy of the world.

Another reason for the success of the United States is its geographical location. The United States is a large country with a long coastline. This has given it a natural advantage in trade and commerce.

Finally, the success of the United States is due to the hard work and determination of its people. The Americans are a people who are willing to work hard and to sacrifice for the good of their country.

These are the reasons why the United States is a great nation. It is a nation that has achieved many great things in a short time. It is a nation that is the envy of the world.

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that it is sacred, but the treaty was signed with the wall of Christ and that the city was protected by the Agapies (Love and Faith), representing the *agapies* (Love and Faith) of the city. On the back side of the wall it is stated that the power of the cross averts the disasters of the war, whilst on the front side payment to the Persians is recorded.²⁶¹ Various Christian symbols, namely crosses, olive branches and dolphins, were engraved on the walls of Dairachium and other cities in Armenia.²⁶² Christian symbolism has been recognised in the proportions of the parts of crosses engraved on gates and walls, which served to invoke divine protection.²⁶³ The location of churches by city gates also appears to have been intended to secure protection. In Thessalonica, the Octagon near the Porta Aurea was perhaps dedicated to St. Nestor, probably place of his martyrdom, while at the other end, near the Porta Cardiniana, the Rotunda was located. Furthermore, chapels were built into the towers of walls.²⁶⁴

The Church claimed responsibility for the provision of divine protection over entire urban communities, and this association is made clear in church inscriptions, an inscription from the Church of St. Theodor at Gerusa, dating to 496, asserts that the saint will avert misfortune and protect the city (ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἄνθρωπος δύναται ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς).²⁶⁵ Severus of Antioch gives a rationalizing account of protection offered by saints over cities. Saints particularly protect the cities where they suffered martyrdom. They have a desire to fight for the faith, for which they won various triumphs, and especially for the places of their martyrdom. They resemble athletes who, after they have won a victory, feel attracted to the place where they successfully competed.²⁶⁶ The belief that Constantinople was protected by the Theotokos was particularly developed in the sixth century.²⁶⁷ Sometimes Christian inscriptions on urban monuments invoked divine protection over the city, through the use of magic symbols and language. An inscription, dating to the fifth or sixth century, built into the exterior wall of the theatre of Miletus, which was later transformed into a fort, invoked the seven let four gels, and are followed by an invocation to a saint to protect Miletus and its inhabitants.²⁶⁸ Once again pagan and Christian elements are found side by side.

Relics and Christian burial sites

According to the pagan tradition consequently sanctioned by Roman law, ancient cemeteries were located outside the city walls. The place of the dead was to be completely separate from inhabited urban space, the dead being considered a source of pollution.²⁶⁹ However, the rule was not absolute and exceptions were allowed for heroes' tombs in the civic centres. In Ephesus, along the Embolos, there were several famous grave monuments of benefactors, political figures or men of letters, and in the Upper Agora stood the tomb of C. Memmianus, grandson of Sulla. Tombs of heroes are found in the agora

²⁶¹ P. Jouanolle, 'Le monument de Hierapolis-Bambyke et son art de la paix "perpetuelle"', de 512 AP J. C., in *Mémoires orientales de l'École Française d'Athènes* (Paris, 1960), 387-392.

²⁶² A. Balle, 'Les inscriptions en arabe dans le monde byzantin', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

²⁶³ H. Kinn, 'The inscription from Hierapolis-Bambyke', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

²⁶⁴ M. Mark, 'The inscription from Hierapolis-Bambyke', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

²⁶⁵ M. Mark, 'The inscription from Hierapolis-Bambyke', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

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²⁶⁷ M. Mark, 'The inscription from Hierapolis-Bambyke', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

²⁶⁸ M. Mark, 'The inscription from Hierapolis-Bambyke', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

²⁶⁹ M. Mark, 'The inscription from Hierapolis-Bambyke', in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 124, 125, 1967, 21-23.

of many ancient cities.²⁷⁰ In ancient Messene in the Peloponnese, several monumental tombs of heroes and of local families are located *extra muros*, in the civic centre and by the stadium gymnasium.²⁷¹ In some cities that included many uninhabited areas inside the walls, burials of all periods are to be found scattered within the line of walls.²⁷² Local tradition among the Hellenized populations in southern Asia Minor, in Lycaonia and Pisidia, dictated close proximity of funerary structures and monumental tombs to public monuments of cities and towns or near houses.²⁷³ Christianity gradually introduced radical ideological changes concerning death. Death, having been defeated by Christ, was now to be regarded differently. No longer feared, it now led to eternal life.²⁷⁴ For Christians death is a triumph, but *kairosis*, for the body will be resurrected.²⁷⁵ Theological arguments were presented against the belief in the pollution of the dead.²⁷⁶ However, the ancient tradition of placing cemeteries outside the urban gates was respected by Christians for a long time.²⁷⁷ A sense of disgust for corpses is expressed in several passages of the Church Fathers, who refer to the need for burials *extra muros*.²⁷⁸ The fact that Christian burials in the cities occur in churches, a practice that appears before the end of the fourth century. On the grounds that burials were forbidden in cities by ancient tradition. John Chrysostom explains that burials in churches should not be allowed. In fact, since Christ dwells in churches and since the Holy Spirit operates there and the mysteries are performed there, burials are the last place where burials should be permitted.²⁷⁹ Ephraem the Syrian stipulated in his *hymns* that the place where burials should be permitted is the city, not in any other place of the church, for it is not appropriate that a decomposed body be deposited in a holy site (*hagionoma*) of God.²⁸⁰ A *hagionoma* of the city, not be buried in the sanctuary of a church, nor in any other place of the church, for it is not appropriate that a decomposed body be deposited in a holy site (*hagionoma*) of God.²⁸¹ In the capital, however, the expansion of the city brought about burial within the city walls, because land previously being outside was now reachable in the inhabited area. The forum of Constantine was built on the site of ancient cemeteries, where cemeteries

²⁷⁰ Scheller, 'Topographie', fig. 3-10, in the area of the Albanian Agora, R. S. Yarrow, 'Necropolis and urban space', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

²⁷¹ P. G. Williams, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

²⁷² M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

²⁷³ M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

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²⁷⁶ M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

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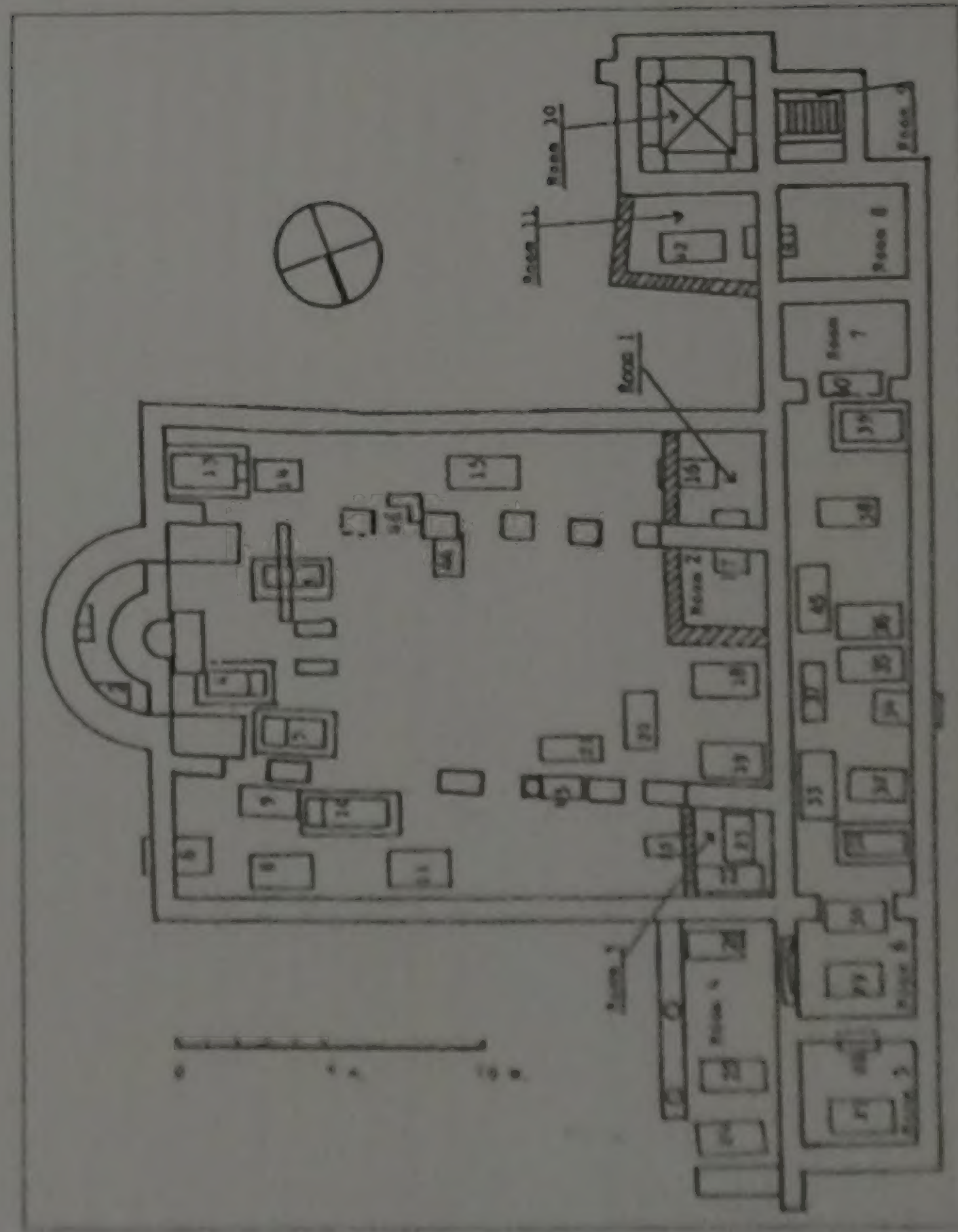
²⁷⁸ M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

²⁷⁹ M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

²⁸⁰ M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

²⁸¹ M. Winkler, 'The City of the dead and the Dead in the City', in *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1981, 101-102.

The traditional view is that Christian cemeteries emerged around early Christian martyrual churches in the suburbs of cities and were later transferred to the uninhabited area.³⁴⁰ Christian basilicas were often built in cemeteries above pre-existing tombs, and Christian burials continued under the church floor or chancelled around the church itself. The number of burials in churches was sometimes considerable. For example, under the Cemetery Basilica of Stobi forty-six tombs have been found (Plan 58).³⁴¹ Initially, the bodies of martyrs and saints were buried in churches, whilst near them were deposited the bodies of the socially distinguished Christians. It was Constantine the Great who set the trend by planning his burial



ON AUGUST 1944 THE CAMEROON BASTION AT SIOUX FALLS, S.D.

and English. *Le chiese orientali*, 21 ff., pp. 15 ff.
 van der Drift, 'The Origins of the Early Byzantine Period in Eastern Rhythmic Location
 Reports', *Monumental Band*, 493-494.
 Sauer, *Monumental Band*, 493-494.
 and Murray, *Greek Church of Theological Bishops* 29 (1966), 117-124. N. E. Tzavara, *St. Basil
 (Athens)* (1987), 178-186. U. M. Pavia and V. F. Nock, *Le patriarcati durante la formazione della città cristiana, ACSC 20*
 (1986), 1-55-120.
 van der Drift, *Le chiese orientali*, 21 ff., pp. 15 ff.

In the early sixth century, Severus of Antioch elaborated on the power of saints' relics against the Christians. He repeated the idea known from the early Church Fathers that Christ's death and resurrection had defeated the pollution of the tomb.²⁶⁴ Churches were sanctified with bones or sacred parts of the martyrs' bodies, or with the dust that remained, which had the power to heal all kinds of diseases and chase demons away. Severus reminds his flock that the relics of St. Basilias were capable of striking down the idol of Apollo in Daphne. The demonstrable strength of saints' relics constituted a powerful

[illegible]

statement against paganism: "The pagan demons fly away when the martyrs are near. They disappear like flames, they cry, they admit their defeat, they call the martyrs' name and they ask them not to pursue them". From hagiographical sources we learn that saints were buried in holy places, namely churches, although sometimes, on account of their humility, they chose a modest location for their burial.²⁴⁵⁵

In the middle of the sixth century, however, Christians were still expressing a disgust for saints' relics. Someone experiencing revulsion at approaching the corpse of St. Martha in a vision is punished with a severe disease. St. Symeon recommends that the man be taken to the corpse of St. Martha, where he was miraculously cured.²⁴⁵⁶ Other hagiographical texts of the sixth century refer to attempts by Christians to appropriate relics. The remains of St. Euthymius, founder of the Lavra east of Jerusalem, were securely closed in a tomb "so that no one could open the tomb and carry off the remains".²⁴⁵⁷ Because St. Simeon (+ 558/9) predicted that conflict (πόλεμος) would arise among Christians over her body, she had asked under oath those who were close to her, to give her body to a certain pious Bateos, who built an *eukterion oikon* for it to be deposited.²⁴⁵⁸ The *Life* of St. Anastasius Perses (+ 628) contains a lengthy account, in which a bishop and a monk are the main protagonists, of the secret efforts to recover the saint's relics from Persia and deposit them in his monastery in Jerusalem. The saint's relics were venerated in every city they were carried through.²⁴⁵⁹ They were given to individuals for healing purposes and were placed in private *eukterion*. In this text there is no discussion regarding pollution by the corpses nor, indeed, any expression of disgust. The relics are cut into pieces and distributed to bishops, urban communities and private individuals. They are placed on the body of the sick, usually around the neck, or their *myron* is given to the sick to drink or to be anointed with (*apomyrismo*). Itinerant monks carried relics with them from one city to another. The monk who possessed the relics of St. Anastasius went through Palestine, Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia to the capital, Abydos and Ascalon, and everywhere miracles were performed. In other sixth-century hagiographical texts, contact of people with saints' corpses becomes more emotional and intimate. People jostled each other to kiss the corpse of St. Alypius Stylites (+ during the reign of Heraclius).²⁴⁶⁰ Instead of feeling disgust for the corpses, Christians now felt intimate veneration for the saints' relics. In the second half of the sixth century, the ideological change regarding death was complete, so that for Agathias, the Persian belief in the pollution caused by death was an alien custom.²⁴⁶¹

Burials in churches were considered a privilege, on account of the proximity to saints' relics and were so reserved for ecclesiastics and members of the upper class. Ecclesiastical and lay élites gradually created a *nobility of holiness*, thus instituting a means of self-promotion in social and political terms, to enhance their power and authority in the urban communities.²⁴⁶² The early stage of the introduction of privileged burials into churches is described in the *Miracles* of St. Thecla. A leading person of the local community, an officer of the imperial administration, wishes to be buried in the church of the saint, for he considers this to be the greatest possible honour (μεῖζονα δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντων ἄλλων οὐχ ἐγένετο ταύτης τιμῆς), on account of the proximity to the saint's relics. Bishop Maximus grants the permission

²⁴⁵⁵ Vita S. Marthae, c. 24-25 (pp. 271-272) and c. 31 (p. 276); Moschus, 2949C-2952A; Cyril of Scythopolis, 64.22.

²⁴⁵⁶ Vita S. Marthae, c. 35-36 (pp. 279-280).

²⁴⁵⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, c. 25.30 (transl. R. M. Price, 58).

²⁴⁵⁸ Vita S. Simeonis, c. 27-28 (pp. 130-131).

²⁴⁵⁹ Phocas, *Saint Anastase. Traditions reliquaires*, p. 99 ff.

²⁴⁶⁰ Vita S. Alypii Stylite, c. 25 (p. 168.23-30).

²⁴⁶¹ Agathias II.23.7.

²⁴⁶² A. Samellai, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.). The Christianization of the East. An Interpretation* (Tübingen 2002), 178-256.

for the burial. The saint, however, appears to the workers digging the grave in the church floor, and stops them. She also appears to the bishop at night urging him not to allow the pollution (*hosochia*) caused by tombs to be brought into churches. Tombs and churches have nothing in common (οὐτε γὰρ εἶναι τι κοινὸν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐνταφίσις οἰκοῖς) except for those who, although are dead, are considered still to be alive, such as holy bishops.²⁴⁶³ From the second half of the fifth century, references to the disgust felt towards the corpses begin to diminish in the texts, and in the sixth century the evolution was completed. Burials *ad sanctos* offered the hope that the saints would mediate with Christ for the salvation of the deceased, while it offered a feeling of relief to the relatives. Although Justinianic legislation repeats earlier laws forbidding burials in churches, other laws sanction burial inside the line of the Theodosian walls in Constantinople.²⁴⁶⁴ Burials on the ground of monastic communities also reinforced the trend. St. Matrona designated the first floor of her monastery outside Constantinople, for the ossuaries of deceased nuns (*koumeterion oikon*), while the second floor became an winter *eukterion* and the third floor another one for the summer.²⁴⁶⁵ The privileged burials of the members of the Church and of the upper class *ad sanctos* are documented at all archaeological sites.²⁴⁶⁶ In the sixth century, burials were arranged underneath the floor of urban churches in all cities. Private funerary chapels were also attached to many churches, while small funerary churches were constructed near or above family tombs.²⁴⁶⁷

Christian cemeteries were increasingly incorporated into the urban fabric within the walls, although most of the cities continued to use the old *extra mural* cemeteries.²⁴⁶⁸ While Christian ideology was the major factor responsible for the incorporation of cemeteries in the urban environment,²⁴⁶⁹ other reasons also played a role. First, because of the impressive increase in the size of urban centres from the fourth to the middle of the sixth century in all the areas of the empire (with the exception of the northern Balkans), ancient cemeteries which previously lay outside the walls were included in the newly developed residential districts. In some cases such cemeteries had ceased to function as burial places and so were subsequently covered by dwellings. In other cases, when the city expanded, funerary monuments were left untouched, houses being built around them, so that tombs were incorporated in residential districts. Such arrangements were not unknown in the ancient world. In Rome, for example, along the Via Appia, which was lined with tombs, houses and villas later appeared, intermingled with the tombs. At Gerasa, in the area between the Church of St. Theodore and the temple of Artemis, was a cemetery, abandoned when the city plan was established in the middle of the first century A.D.²⁴⁷⁰ Outside the Magnesian Gate of Ephesus an early Byzantine residential district expanded among funerary monuments on the site of a necropolis.²⁴⁷¹ It has been mentioned above that when Constantinople was enlarged with the

²⁴⁶³ Vita S. Theclae, 70-71, mir. 30 (pp. 370-372).

²⁴⁶⁴ CJ 1.2.2 (a. 381); 1.2.18; Novella 59.5. The earlier legislation on pollution of tombs was formally abolished by the Novella

53 of Leo VI.

²⁴⁶⁵ Vita S. Matronae, c. 46 (810 ff.).

²⁴⁶⁶ See J.-P. Sodini, "Les tombes privilégiées dans l'Orient chrétien (à l'exception du Djénou d'Égypte)", in Y. Duval and J.-Ch. Picard (eds.), *Le tombeau privilégié du IV^e au VII^e siècle en Occident. Actes du colloque tenu à Cahors les 16-18 mars 1984* (Paris 1986), 233-242 with a list of burials *ad sanctos* from the eastern provinces; J.-P. Sodini and K. Kolikova, *Alba II. La basilique double* (Athens, Paris 1984), 219-227 with particular attention to the Balkans; Duval, *Agapè des saints corps*; idem, *Lexa sanctorum*; Simey, *Intramural Burial*, 494-495.

²⁴⁶⁷ Idem, *Churches*, 65-67.

²⁴⁶⁸ Claude, *Stadt*, 97-99.

²⁴⁶⁹ See recently G. Cantino Wataghin, *The Ideology of Urban Burials*, in Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins, *The Idea*, 147-183.

²⁴⁷⁰ Fisher, *Buildings*, 293.

²⁴⁷¹ Fox, *Ephesus*, 83-84. Other examples: Pessegue, *Pessegue* (Pessinote) 1987, K37 192 (1988), 321.

Jerusalem the Justinianic walls included the third-century cemetery. At Caesarea, the cemetery outside the walls was filled

construction of the new wall of Theodosius, ancient cemeteries were included inside the new line of fortifications. In fact, poor houses in the area that expanded to the southwest outside the walls were built directly over the earlier tombs. Presumably this district developed in response to the housing needs of the local population that sought refuge near the walls during the Gothic invasions.³⁴⁷

It has been suggested that abandoned urban buildings where burials appeared may sometimes have belonged to the Church.³⁴⁸ If this were the case, the spread of burials in the cities would have been sanctioned and coordinated by the Church. The pattern of Christian burials in Corinth has been studied in a comprehensive study. In the fourth century no burials are attested inside the city's sacred boundary (*pomerium*). In the fifth century martyria and cemetery basilicas over tombs of saints in the old extramural cemeteries appear. Earlier pagan tombs are destroyed or buried by the new constructions, and their stones removed. Within the basilica near the Kanchreai Gate at Kraneion, dating to the late fifth or early sixth century, stood 31 tombs inside and around, many with multiple burials. The Martyrium Basilica dedicated to St. Kordaios, on the site of the north cemetery, had 55 burials. The construction of the new shorter wall in the early fifth century reduced the city's *pomerium*. Thus burials appeared outside the new walls in districts which were previously inhabited and located inside the old walls.³⁴⁹ the Christian Cemetery of Lerna Hollow (fourth to sixth centuries) on the site of the sanctuary of Asclepius, the Shrine of the Spring of Lerna, and the Gymnasium. By the mid-sixth century or most likely in the later part of the century, burials appeared in the forum, especially in the shops and bath behind the south stoa, in the central shops, in the court of the Peirene Spring, and in the southwest corner of the forum between the upper and lower agora (*supra*, p. 241, Plan 18). The area of the ancient forum was left outside the early Byzantine walls and was gradually abandoned. It is possible that on the site of the south basilica a Christian church was built, which may explain the appearance of burials on the south side of the forum.³⁴⁷ The ideological change that occurred by the sixth century may be seen in the change of the meaning of the word cemetery (*κομητήριον*-cemetery), whilst at the beginning it indicated a single burial or a holy burial, from the early sixth century the term indicated in Christian theology entire Christian cemeteries.³⁴⁸

with soil in the early fourth century and the upper part of the tombs that were still visible above the new fill were dismantled. V. Piren, *Cassarea* - 1984-1989, *ESR* 112 (2000), 37. The western gate of Gades and the wall was built in the early fourth century in a cemetery. S. Kaser and A. Hoffmann, *Gades - Umm Qeis*, Preliminary Report on the 1991 and 1992 Seasons, *ADAF* 37 (1993), 363, 378 pp. 1 and 2. In the Balkans, when in the fourth century a new residential district was extended outside the walls of Philippopolis, the cemetery was transferred, but in Diocletianopolis, when the city expanded to the north, the south and the east, some of the earlier cemeteries were included in the new districts (fourth century): J. Valeva, Les nécropoles paléochrétiennes de Bulgarie et les tombes peintes, *ACAC* XI (1986), II, 1245-1246. When early Byzantine Themalonitis expanded, earlier burials were included inside the Byzantine walls. F. Petras, *AD* 22 (1967), Chr. B2, 396-398. Early Byzantine Delphi was expanding to the west, partly on the site of the Roman cemetery. P. Pridis, Delphi, 687.

³⁴⁷ Mitchell, *Soils*, 103.

³⁴⁸ B. Montanari and B. Santangeli Valentini, *Sepolture intramurali a Roma tra V e VII secolo D.C.* - Aggiornamenti e considerazioni, *Archologia Medievale* 22 (1991), 283-290.

³⁴⁹ Another example is found at Thessalonica, where to the south-east of the theatre a Christian cemetery appeared in connection with the destruction of the city wall. *BSA* 119 (1995), 471-472.

³⁵⁰ *Interim*, Burial, 103-104, 111-112; Sanders, *Problems*, 179 and fig. 6.3 (p. 180) on the early Byzantine wall of Corinth leaving out the forum, and pp. 180-184 on burials in the forum. For a late date of the burials in the Roman forum of Corinth (late sixth or early seventh century) see R. W. Smith and G. D. R. Sanders, Corinth: Late Roman Horizons, *Hesperia* 74 (2005), 243-257. For the introduction of burials in the cities of Greece, see N. Laskaris, Πολιτισμικο-εθνο-κοινωνικό και πολιτικό κίνημα στην Ελλάδα: Αναστροφή και μεταμόρφωση, *Byzantika* 16 (1996), 295-330; Bowden, *Epirus Venet*, 170-171.

³⁵¹ E. Rieuhaert, Κομητήριον et cimetière: tombes, tombes saintes, nécropole, *MEFR* 105 (1993), 975-1001.

At a later stage, burials appeared scattered inside the urban space, in abandoned ancient buildings, abandoned churches, and large decaying houses. This process of the final disintegration of urban space is usually dated to the era of invasions and will be examined in this context in the next chapter.

The sixth century marks the end of the ancient city. In urban space and culture, paganism was a fact of the past. Pagan monuments, now abandoned, were dilapidated or adapted for new uses in a Christian context. Cities were profoundly and permanently Christianized. A new Christian articulation of urban space was created and a new unification of urban identity achieved. At the same time, the Church's control over most urban socio-economic activities caused a shift in interest from secular to ecclesiastical concerns and gave the cities mediaeval characteristics. The transformation and crisis of the upper class and its identification with the ecclesiastical establishment enhanced the power of the Church. In its early stages, the disintegration of the ancient cities, the abandonment of the traditional ancient civic structures and institutions and the introduction of agricultural installations and burials, was directly connected with, and coordinated, by the Church.



FIG. 56 The ruins of the Church of St. John in Ephesus and in the background the hill of Aynaluk with the Byzantine citadel.

CHAPTER 14

THE TWO MODELS OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE CITY

*One can say of cities, 'Tell me how their space is distributed and I will tell you who governs or owns them'.*²⁴⁷

By the end of the sixth century, two models of city had developed in the Byzantine empire. One was formed in the course of the early Byzantine period through a process of the evolution of the ancient city within the new socio-economic and political circumstances and a new cultural environment. The other model constituted a new form of city, created on the initiative of the state or of local communities in response to the invasions. The form of both, however, crystallized over the sixth century. The first model belonged to the past, although it continued to evolve in the early Byzantine period, albeit profoundly transformed, reaching the seventh century as a relic of antiquity still surviving in the early Middle Ages. It was shaped by demographic, socio-economic and cultural dynamics, which altered the cities' ancient physical appearance. The forces informing the new model of the city were different and primarily military and Christian, which led to an emphasis on fortifications, naturally defensible locations and churches, and thus to an urban legacy quite different from that bequeathed by the earlier model.²⁴⁸

The twilight of the ancient city

Earlier, in particular in Parts III and IV of this book, we described in detail the transformation of ancient civic space from the fourth century onwards and its final form at the end of the early Byzantine period. Civic centres had ceased to be used as administrative and social centres for urban communities. The commercial centre of major cities had long been dissociated from the administrative centre and transferred to other parts of the city. In early Byzantine cities, markets were located along the streets, a Hellenistic and Roman urban arrangement, and a Roman type of market, the *macellum*, continued to function. At the same time, new markets developed around churches. The concentration of pagan monuments, heroes and temples were tied to the cities' ancient tradition and pagan religion, and the decline in autonomous civic administration made the *forum/agora* obsolete. Buildings serving the administration were abandoned or were taken over by powerful individuals or persons of the lower classes, being sold or leased for other uses. They were subdivided and used for industrial and artisan activities.

²⁴⁷ L. Martini, *Power and Imagination. City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York 1979), 241.

²⁴⁸ See recently Zaluski, *The Urban Ideal*.